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HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Memoir of the late Rev. Joseph Priestley, LL.D. F.R.S. &c.

[With the Portrait, we think it may be useful and agreeable to many of our readers to give a Memoir, of Dr. Priestley. We have taken the liberty, to copy the life published in the Eighth Volume of the General Biography, 4to., and drawn up, as appears from the signature, by the able and elegant pen of Dr. Aikin, and to adapt it more particularly to this work by the addition of notes, for which we are indebted to a friend, to whom the commencement and the continuance of the Monthly Repository are chiefly owing, whose communications form a rich portion of the past volumes, and to whom the readers may still, it is hoped, look for entertainment and instruction. The whole of the notes are original and by the same friendly hand.

EDITOR.]

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY, LL.D. F. R. S., &c. a very eminent philosopher and divine, was born in March, 1733, at Field-head, near Leeds. His father was engaged in the clothing manufacture, and was a dissenter of the Calvinistic persuasion.¹

¹ "Jonas Priestley, the youngest son of Joseph Priestley, a maker and dresser of woollen cloth." His son describes him as discovering "a strong sense of religion, praying with his family morning and evening, and carefully teaching his children and servants the Assembly's Catechism, which was all the system of which he had any knowledge," never "giving much attention to matters of speculation, and entertaining no bigoted aversion to those who differed from him." Dr. Priestley's mother, who died in 1740, when her son was in his seventh year, "was the only child of Joseph Swift, a farmer of Shafton, a village about six miles south-east of Wakefield." She was gratefully recollecting by her son as "a woman of exemplary

Joseph was in his youth adopted by an aunt, a woman of exemplary piety and benevolence,² who sent him for education to several schools in the neighbourhood, where he acquired a respectable degree of knowledge of the learned languages, including Hebrew.³ He was originally destined for the ministry; but weak health causing his views to be turned towards trade, he learned some of the modern

piety, careful to teach" him religion according to her own convictions, and taking a particular occasion to inculcate moral principle by impressing his mind "with a clear idea of the distinction of property, and the importance of attending to it." Priestley's Mem. pp. 2, 3, 5.

² She was his father's sister, "married to a Mr. Keightley, a man who had distinguished himself for his zeal for religion, and for his public spirit." She died in 1764, having survived her husband many years. Her nephew, from whom she deserved and received the grateful remembrance of a son, characterizes this "truly pious and excellent woman" as one "who knew no other use of wealth, or of talents of any kind, than to do good, and who never spared herself for this purpose;—truly Calvinistic in principle, but far from confining salvation to those who thought as she did on religious subjects." He adds, that "being left in good circumstances, her home was the resort of all the dissenting ministers in the neighbourhood without distinction, and those who were the most obnoxious on account of their heresy were almost as welcome to her, if she thought them honest and good men (which she was not unwilling to do) as any other." Id. pp. 3 and 6.

³ In this language he made himself "a considerable proficient," during "the interval between leaving the grammar-school, and going to the academy," by instructing a minister in his neighbourhood "who had had no learned education." He also "learned Chaldee and Syriac, and just began to read Arabic." Id. p. 10.

languages⁴ with that intention. At length, however, his constitution strengthened; and resuming his first purpose, he went in 1752 to the dissenting academy at Daventry, kept by Dr. Ashworth.⁵ He had already imbibed such an attachment to study, and had employed his researches upon so many important topics, that he was regarded on admission as considerably advanced in the academical course. He had also, from his family connexions among the strictest sect of dissenters, acquired those religious habits, and that vital spirit of piety, which ever in some degree assimilated him to that class of Christians, when in doctrine no one more widely deviated from them. At Daventry he spent three years, during which his acute and vigorous mind was expanding in free inquiry and diversified pursuit.⁶ The change of his

⁴ Those which he acquired, and without a master, were "French, Italian, and High Dutch." He "translated and wrote letters in the first and last for an uncle, a merchant, who intended" him for "a counting-house in Lisbon." Id. p. 5.

⁵ He was first destined by his relations to the Calvinistic-Independent "Academy at Mile-end, then under the care of Dr. Conder. But being at that time an Arminian, he resolutely opposed it," especially declining to "subscribe an assent to ten printed articles of Calvinistic faith, and repeat it every six months." A neighbouring minister, Mr. Kirkby, who had been one of his instructors in the classics "interposed and strongly recommended the academy of Dr. Doddridge." The "Aunt, not being a bigoted Calvinist, entered into his views, and Dr. Doddridge being dead he was sent to Daventry and was the first pupil that entered there." Id. p. 16, 17.

⁶ "Three years, viz. from Sept. 1752 to 1755, I spent at Daventry with that peculiar satisfaction with which young persons of generous minds usually go through a course of liberal study, in the society of others engaged in the same pursuits, and free from the cares and anxieties which seldom fail to lay hold on them when they come out into the world. In my time, the academy was in a state peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth, as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance, such as Liberty and Necessity, the Sleep of the Soul, and all the articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy; in consequence of which all these topics were the subject of continual discussion. Our tutors also were of different opinions; Dr. Ashworth taking

opinions from the orthodox system in which he had been brought up, towards the doctrine usually termed heretical, which had already commenced;⁷ here made a further progress, though it still rested within the limits of Arianism.⁸ Here he was

the orthodox side of every question, and Mr. Clark, the sub-tutor, that of heresy, though always with the greatest modesty. We were permitted to ask whatever questions, and to make whatever remarks we pleased; and we did it with the greatest, but without any offensive, freedom.—We were referred to authors on both sides of every question, and were even required to give an account of them." Id. p. 17. For an account of Mr. Clark see M. Repos. Vol. i. p. 617. ii. 68, and for an account of Dr. Ashworth, Vol. viii. 562 (*note*) and 693, and ix. 10, 78 and 242.

⁷ In the family of his excellent aunt he became confirmed "in the principles of Calvinism, all the books he met with" having that tendency." Yet two ministers, "the most heretical in the neighbourhood, were frequently his aunt's guests." With one of these, "Mr. Graham, of Halifax," to whom he afterwards dedicated his *Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit*, he now became intimate. In paying an early and serious attention to religion, as he then understood it, he had waited with painful anxiety for the experience "of a new-birth produced by the immediate agency of the spirit of God," and had been "much distressed" because he "could not feel a proper repentance for the sin of Adam." Yet he had so far altered his views when he offered himself "to be admitted a communicant," where he and his aunt attended, that the examining "elders of the church" rejected him as not "quite orthodox on the subject of the sin of Adam," because he could not believe "that all the human race (supposing them not to have any sin of their own) were liable to the wrath of God and the pains of hell for ever on account of that sin only." About this time he came into the society of two preachers who qualified Calvinism and were called *Baxterian*. "Thinking farther on these subjects," he had become, when he entered the academy "an Arminian, but had by no means rejected the doctrine of the Trinity or that of Atonement." Id. p. 7--12.

⁸ "Notwithstanding the great freedom of our speculations and debates, the extreme of heresy among us was Arianism; and all of us, I believe, left the academy with a belief, more or less qualified of the doctrine of *Atonement*." Id. p. 20. The fellow-student with whom Priestley had the most frequent communications and formed the most intimate friendship was "Mr. Alex-

also introduced to an acquaintance with the writings of Dr. Hartley, which exerted a powerful and lasting influence over his whole train of thinking.⁹ On quitting the academy, he accepted an invitation to officiate as minister to a small congregation at Needham-market in Suffolk. Not having the talents of a popular preacher, and becoming suspected of heretical opinions, he passed his time at this place in disownance and obscurity; but he was assiduously employed in theological and scriptural studies, of which the result was a farther departure from the received systems, and particularly a total re-

jection of the doctrine of atonement.¹⁰ After a residence of three years at Needham, he undertook the charge of a congregation at Nantwich, in Cheshire, to which he joined a school. In the business of education he was indefatigable; and he added to the common objects of instruction, experiments in natural philosophy, which were the means of fostering in himself a taste for pursuits of that kind.¹¹ His first publication was an English Grammar on a new plan, for the use of his scholars, printed in 1791. His reputation as a man of various knowledge and active inquiry now began to extend itself, and in 1761 he was invited by the trustees of the dissenting academy at Warrington to occupy the post of tutor in the languages.¹² Not long after his acceptance of this office, he married the daughter of Mr. Wilkinson, an iron-master, near Wrexham, a lady of an excellent understanding, and great strength of mind, who proved his faithful partner in all the vicissitudes of life.

At Warrington Dr. Priestley began to distinguish himself as a writer in various branches of science and literature. Several of these had a relation to his department in the academy, which, besides philology, included

ander, of Birmingham," about three years younger than himself, who died suddenly in 1765, before he had completed his 30th year. He is mentioned in the Memoir with great regard. Of Mr. Alexander there is an interesting account, by Dr. Kippis, in a note to the life of his uncle, Dr. Benson (B. Biog. ii. 206). He is also known by a posthumous publication, entitled, "A Paraphrase upon the 15th Chapter of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians; with Critical Notes, &c. &c. to which is added a Sermon on Eccles. ix. 10, composed by the author the day preceding his death. By John Alexander." 4to. 1766.

⁹ Priestley (Mem. p. 15) ascribes his first acquaintance with "Hartley's Observations on Man," to a reference made by the lecturer to that work, "which," he adds, "immediately engaged my closest attention, and produced the greatest and, in my opinion, the most favourable effect on my general turn of thinking through life.—Indeed I do not know whether the consideration of Dr. Hartley's Theory contributes more to enlighten the mind, or improve the heart; it effects both in so super-eminent a degree." The name of Hartley is in Priestley's Chart of Biography, first published in 1765, and there can be no doubt that he is designed in the following passage of the *Description*:

"I recollect only one instance (in the class of divines, moralists and metaphysicians) in which I have departed from my general rule of giving place to present fame in favour of extraordinary merit, and what I presume will be great future reputation. If I be mistaken in my presumption I hope I shall be indulged a little partiality for one favourite name." *Description*, 1785, p. 17.

The subjects, on which reference is made to Hartley in the Lectures of Doddridge, are the intermediate state, the final restoration, and the renovation of the earth. See Lect. 4to. 1763. pp. 561, 2, 574, 5, 581.

¹⁰ In M. Repos. Vol. ii. p. 638, &c. see an interesting communication respecting Dr. Priestley's explicit conduct at this period, occasioned by some misrepresentations in a sermon preached by his brother on the occasion of his death.

¹¹ Here he assiduously pursued his theological inquiries and adopted some of those opinions respecting the apostle Paul's *reasonings*, which he afterwards published, to the alarm of not a few serious Christians, who had hastily supposed that divine truth could be impaired by any logical inaccuracy of those who were appointed to declare it. Dr. Priestley (Mem. p. 34) relates how at this time he had committed to the press a book which contained his free thoughts on this subject. The work when partly printed he suppressed, at the instance of his friend, Dr. Kippis, till he "should be more known, and his character better established." The writer of these notes had the same account many years ago, from Dr. Kippis, who mentioned the readiness with which Priestley attended to his suggestion and that of Dr. Furneaux, from which they justly argued his future eminence.

¹² See M. Repos. Vol. viii. pp. 226—231.

lectures on history and general policy. His ideas of government were founded on those principles of the fundamental rights of men which are the only basis of political freedom, and these he supported in an "Essay on Government." He also published an "Essay on a Course of liberal Education," to which he added some remarks on a treatise on education, by Dr. Brown, of Newcastle, the sentiments of which he regarded as hostile to liberty.¹³ His "Chart of Biography," first published at Warrington, was formed upon an ingenious idea, and was well received.¹⁴ A visit to London having in-

troduced him to the acquaintance of Dr. Franklin,¹⁵ Dr. Watson, Dr. Price, and Mr. Canton, he was encouraged by them to pursue a plan he had formed of writing a "History of Electricity," which work appeared in 1767. Besides a very clear and well arranged account of the rise and progress of that branch of science, it related many new and ingeniously devised experiments of his own, which were first-fruits of that inventive and sagacious spirit by which he afterwards rendered himself so celebrated in the walk of natural philosophy. This publication made his name extensively known among those who might have remained strangers to it as connected with his other pursuits. It was several times reprinted, was translated into foreign languages, and procured for him an admission into the Royal Society. He had previously obtained the title of Doctor of Laws from the University of Edinburgh. His connexion with the academy at Warrington, which, from the advantages it gave him of cultivating a much more extensive acquaintance with books and men, may be considered as an important era in his life,

¹³ The last mentioned Essay first appeared in 1765, and except the Grammar was his earliest publication. Many of the hints in that small volume were afterwards enlarged into the "Lectures on History and General Policy," published in 1788. Dr. Brown is now chiefly known by his "Essay on the Characteristics," his "Estimate," of which the Muse of Cowper has preserved the remembrance, his devotion to Warburton, his disappointments, and their unhappy result in a premature death, in 1766, in his 51st year. (See Biog. Brit. ii. 653—674). In 1765, Dr. B. published a pamphlet, entitled, "Thoughts on Civil Liberty, Licentiousness and Faction," at the close of which he recommended "a prescribed Code of Education." This opinion Priestley controverts in four sections of remarks. The "Essay on Government" appeared in 1768, and a second enlarged edition in 1772. In this were included the remarks on Dr. Brown, and on Dr. Balguy's "Positions on Church Authority," with a section on "the necessity or utility of Ecclesiastical Establishments." In the section on "Political Liberty," the author considers the case of Charles I., whose execution, unlike the Presbyterians of a former age, he justifies, regretting, however, "that the sentence could not be passed by the whole nation, or their representatives solemnly assembled for that purpose—a transaction which would have been an immortal honour to this country, whenever that superstitious notion of the *sacredness of kingly power* shall be abolished." These sentiments, as may be supposed, did not pass without censure, and to the author has been attributed, unjustly, the *proud day for England*, used, we think, by the late Lord Keppel, to describe the thirtieth of January. The late Duke of Richmond (See M. Repos. Vol. ii. p. 42.) sanctions Priestley's opinion, as does indeed the late Lord Orford in his Royal and Noble Authors, Art. *Falkland*.

¹⁴ "This Chart was first drawn out to

be made use of in an academical lecture upon the study of History as one of the mechanical methods of facilitating the study of that science." *Description*, p. 5. Note. The "Chart of History," inscribed to Dr. Franklin, came out a few years after at Leeds, and was an improvement on a French Chart, which had been republished in London. Priestley's Chart of History, with improvements and a continuation has, we believe, very lately appeared.

¹⁵ Of this eminent man and highly valuable member of society Dr. Priestley regretted the *infidelity*, which he endeavoured to remove by recommending to him the evidences of Christianity to which "he acknowledged he had not given so much attention as he ought to have done." See Mem. p. 90, or M. Repos. Vol. i. p. 486. Dr. F. satisfied himself to the last with the expectation of a future life grounded on a pleasing but unauthorized analogy. "I look upon death to be as necessary to our constitutions as sleep. We shall rise refreshed in the morning." Thus he writes at eighty years of age to an old friend and correspondent. See a letter of his to Mr. Whatley, which first appeared, M. Repos. Vol. i. pp. 137, 138, and which, with two other original letters of his, was copied from this work into the last edition of his Works.

ceased in 1767, when he settled at Leeds, as minister to a large and respectable congregation of dissenters. The liberality of the persons composing it, and his own predilection for the ministerial office, rendered this a very agreeable situation to him; and in conformity with the duties of his function, he resumed, with his characteristic ardour, his theological studies. One of the first results of these renewed inquiries was his conversion to the system called Socinian, which he has attributed to a perusal of Dr. Lardner's Letter on the Logos. A number of publications on different topics connected with religion announced the zeal by which he was inspired. Nor was he one who confined his labours to the closet; on the contrary, he was extremely assiduous in his pastoral instructions to the younger part of his flock.¹⁶ Some of his writings displayed an attachment to church-discipline, which he had probably imbibed from his early connexions with Calvinistic dissenters, since they had become obsolete among those with whom he was now associated. He likewise began to enter into controversy respecting the right and ground of dissenting in general, and to take his station as one of the most decided opposers of the authority of the establishment. It was at Leeds that his attention was first excited, in consequence of his vicinity to a public brewery, to the properties of that gaseous fluid then termed fixed air, and his experiments led him so far as to contrive a simple apparatus for impregnating water with it, which he afterwards made public. At this time, he says, he had very little knowledge of chemistry; and to this circumstance he attributes in some measure the originality of those ex-

periments which produced the subsequent discoveries, that have rendered him so celebrated, since otherwise he might probably have followed some beaten track. The success of his History of Electricity induced him to adopt the design of treating on other sciences, in the same historical manner; and at Leeds he diligently occupied himself in preparing his second work on this plan, "The History and present State of Discoveries relating to Vision, Light, and Colours." The expences necessary in composing such a work obliged him to issue proposals for publishing it by subscription, and it appeared in 1772, in one volume 4to. Though a performance of much merit, its reception was not such as to encourage him to proceed in his design; and, fortunately for science, he afterwards confined himself to original researches of the experimental kind.

After a happy residence of six years in this situation, Dr. Priestley quitted it for one as different as could easily be imagined. The Earl of Shelburne (afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne) was one of the few English noblemen to whom it was an object of gratification to enjoy at leisure hours the domestic society of a man of science and literature; and he made a proposal to Dr. Priestley to reside with him in the nominal capacity of his librarian, but rather as his literary companion, upon terms which regard to the future provision of an increasing family would not permit him to decline. He therefore fixed his family in a house at Calne, in Wiltshire, near his lordship's seat; and during seven years attended upon the Earl in his winter's residences at London, and occasionally in his excursions, one of which, in 1774, was a tour to the continent.¹⁷ This situation had doubt-

¹⁶ On this occasion he published, in 1772, his "Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion." His instructions to the young he resumed with ardour on every change of situation, and had the merit of giving a new direction, among the dissenting ministers, called Presbyterian, to their theological labours, which, since they had outgrown a belief in the Assembly's Catechism, had been almost entirely confined to pulpit-instruction. The pupils of Priestley revere his memory, and through not a few of them, though himself dead, he yet speaks the words of truth and soberness.

¹⁷ After visiting "Flanders, Holland, and Germany as far as Strasburg," he spent "a month at Paris." Of the state of religion among the French *litterati*, he gives the following account:—"As I was sufficiently apprized of the fact, I did not wonder as I should otherwise have done, to find all the philosophical persons to whom I was introduced at Paris unbelievers in Christianity, and even professed Atheists.—I was told by some of them that I was the only person they had ever met with, of whose understanding they had any opinion, who professed to believe Christianity. But on interrogating them

less its use, by affording Dr. Priestley advantages in improving his knowledge of the world, and in pursuing his scientific researches, which he could not have enjoyed as minister to a dissenting congregation. The manners and society of a nobleman's house were not, however, perfectly congenial to one whose tastes were simple, and whose address, though by no means coarse or offensive, was plain and unceremonious. The treatment he met with was polite and respectful, both from his noble patron, and the distinguished characters who often composed part of the company. He was entirely free from restraint with respect to his pursuits, and this was the period of some of those exertions which raised his reputation as a philosopher to the highest point. In 1773 there had appeared in the Philosophical Transactions a paper of his on different kinds of air, which obtained the prize of Copley's medal. This, with many additions, was reprinted in 1774, dedicated to Lord Shelburne, and was followed by three more volumes. The abundance of new and important matter in these publications, which form an era in that knowledge of aëri-form fluids which is the basis of modern chemical science, made the name of Priestley familiar in all the enlightened countries of Europe, and produced for him an accumulation of literary honours.

It was his constant practice to employ himself in various pursuits at the same time, whereby he avoided the languor consequent upon protracted attention to a single object, and came to each in turn as fresh as if he had spent an interval of entire relaxation. This effect he pleaded as his apology to those who apprehended that the great diversity of his studies would prevent him from exerting all the force of his mind upon any one of them; and in fact, he proceeded to such a length in every pursuit that interested him, as fully to justify in his own case the rule which he followed. It was during a course of original experiments which fully exercised his faculties of invention and ob-

servation, that he was also employing his reasoning powers in those deep metaphysical inquiries by which he acquired high distinction as a philosopher of another class. In 1775, while still resident with Lord Shelburne, he published his *Examination of the Doctrine of Common-sense* as held by the three Scotch writers, Drs. Reid, Beattie, and Oswald.¹⁸ This work was preparatory to his purpose of introducing to public notice the Hartleian theory of the human mind, which he soon after published in a more popular and intelligible form than that given to it by the author himself.¹⁹ He had already declared himself a believer in the doctrine of philosophical necessity; and in a dissertation prefixed to his edition of Hartley, he expressed some doubts of the immateriality of the sentient principle in man. Notwithstanding the obloquy thus brought upon him as a favourer of infidelity, or even of atheism, he was not deterred from pursuing the subject,—for it was ever his principle to follow what he was convinced to be truth whithersoever it would lead him, regardless of consequences—and becoming, upon closer inquiry, an intire convert to the material hypothesis, or that of the homogeneity of man's nature, he published, in 1777, “*Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit*,” in which he gave a history of the doctrines concerning the soul, and openly supported the system he had adopted. It was followed by a defence of Socinianism, and of the doctrine of necessity.²⁰ It is

¹⁸ These writers, as was remarked in *M. Rep. Vol. ii. p. 61*, are arraigned in the *Examination* for their metaphysical delinquency with a solemnity almost ludicrous. They had indeed disgraced their pens and injured their cause, by affecting to slight Locke and to treat Hartley as below criticism. Dr. Priestley (*Mem. 78.*) describes this work as “written in a manner he did not entirely approve.” A manner so unusual with Dr. Priestley and so unworthy of him deserved his severer censure.

¹⁹ Dr. Hartley's work “*On Man*” was first published in 1749, in 2 vols. To attract attention to his “*Theory of Association*,” Dr. Priestley separated it from the *Evidences of Christianity*, and the practical part which formed the second volume, and from the theory of vibrations interspersed through the first.

²⁰ The first volume of the *Disquisitions*

not improbable that the odium which these works brought upon him was the cause of a coolness in the behaviour of his noble patron, which about this time he began to remark, and which terminated in a separation after a connexion of seven years, but upon amicable terms, and without any alleged cause of complaint. By the articles of agreement Dr. Priestley retained an annuity for life of 150*l.*²¹

was dedicated to his before-mentioned early associate, Mr. Graham, whom he describes as having long been "a distinguished champion for freedom of thinking in very trying situations." The second volume, illustrating "the Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity," was dedicated to his friend, Dr. John Jebb. Considering the wrongs which Priestley afterwards experienced but could then little expect, the following passage is striking: "You and I, Sir, rejoice in the belief that the whole human race are under the same wholesome discipline, and that they will all certainly derive the most valuable advantages from it, though in different degrees, in different ways, and at different periods; that even the persecutors are only giving the precedence to the persecuted, and advancing them to a higher degree of perfection and happiness; and that they must themselves, for the same benevolent purpose, undergo a more severe discipline than that which they are the means of administering to others."

The publication of these Disquisitions occasioned a "free," yet a truly amicable "discussion" between the author and his friend, Dr. Price, which was published in 1778, dedicated to their common friend, Mr. John Lee, and appears to have left both the parties in opinion just where it found them. Mr. John Palmer, a dissenting minister, who had been the intimate friend of Dr. Priestley's fellow-student, Mr. Alexander, also appeared in favour of philosophical liberty, of which he was considered an able advocate. On the same side the learned Jacob Bryant addressed Dr. Priestley, to whom and to Mr. Palmer he published a reply, and to the latter a rejoinder.

²¹ Lord Shelburne was at this time a candidate for ministerial power, a situation in which opulence can do little to secure a manly independence, such as directed the conduct of Dr. Priestley. It is no wonder that an aspiring statesman declined the further patronage of a fearless reformer. Yet the manner in which his lordship first proposed to close the connexion does no credit to his memory. He intimated to Dr. Price, that he wished to

His next removal was to Birmingham, a situation which he preferred on account of the advantage it afforded of able workmen in every branch requisite in his experimental inquiries, and of some men distinguished for their chemical and mechanical knowledge. Several generous friends to science, sensible that the defalcation of his income would render the expences of his pursuits too burthen-some for him to support, joined in raising an annual subscription for defraying them. This assistance he willingly accepted, as more truly honourable to him than a pension from the crown, which might have been obtained for him, if he had desired it, in the administration of the Marquis of Rockingham, and the early part of that of Mr. Pitt. He had not been long settled in this place, before a vacancy happening in the principal dissenting congregation in consequence of the resignation of one of the pastors, he was unanimously chosen to supply it. Without interrupting his philosophical and literary pursuits, he entered with great zeal into the duties of his office, especially that important part of it which consists in catechising and instructing the younger members of the society. Theology again occupied a principal share of his attention (indeed, it was always his favourite study,) and some of his most elaborate works in this department, as his "History of the Corruptions of Christianity," and "History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ," made their appearance from the Birmingham press.²² They were a fer-

give his friend an establishment in Ireland, where he had large property." To this banishment Dr. Priestley preferred the stipulated annuity which was regularly paid, but though Lord S. had wished "the separation to be amicable," he declined the visits of Dr. Priestley when he should be occasionally in London. Yet when he "had been some years settled at Birmingham Lord S.—, removed from the administration, by the rising fortunes of Pitt, sent a common friend to engage Dr. Priestley again in his service"—a proposal which was immediately declined.

²² The first part of the general conclusion to the "History of the Corruptions of Christianity," was addressed to the consideration of "unbelievers, and especially of Mr. Gibbon," from whose Miscellaneous Works, and an appendix to a volume of

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tile source of controversy, in which he engaged without reluctance, and also without those uneasy feelings of irritation which so commonly accompany warfare of this kind. The renewed applications of the dissenters for relief from the penalties and disabilities of the corporation and test acts afforded another topic of discussion, in which Dr. Priestley, with his sentiments on civil and religious liberty, could not fail to take a part; and convinced as he was that all ecclesiastical establishments were hostile to the rights of private judgment, and the propagation of truth, he did not hesitate to represent them as all anti-Christian, and predict their downfall.²³ Thus he came to be regarded

Discourses by Dr. Priestley, it appears that this address occasioned a correspondence somewhat uncourteous, between them, and perhaps not quite unobtrusive on the part of Dr. Priestley. Nor has the *Historian* failed to vent his rancour in his chapter where, referring to some position by Dr. Priestley, he invites the priest and the magistrate to tremble---a broad hint for persecution---differing only in style from the vulgar watch-word *the Church is in danger*. Mr. Gibbon was indeed not very suitably addressed on the evidences of Christianity, to the practical influence of which a man so impure in heart as some of his notes discover him, could be little disposed. Dr. Priestley should have re-collected the maxim of his predecessor *Biddle*, to discuss serious subjects only with serious persons. The occasional impurities of Gibbon's History are well exposed by a distinguished scholar who was himself no precision. See Porson's Preface to his Letters to Travis.

The second part of the "History of the Corruptions" was addressed to the consideration of Bishop Hurd, who seems not to have forgotten the circumstance, in his Life of Warburton. See our 3d Vol. p. 530.

The opposition, from various quarters, to this "History" produced, in 1786, the "History of early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ," in four volumes, dedicated to his munificent friend, Mrs. Rayner, a work still more fruitful of controversy, and which engaged the author in its defence through several succeeding years.

²³ In *Reflections to his Sermon on Free Inquiry*, preached Nov. 5, 1785, Dr. Priestley thus expressed himself: "The present silent propagation of truth may even be compared to those causes of nature which lie dormant for a time, but which in proper circumstances act with the greatest violence. We are, as it were, laying gunpowder, grain by grain, under

not only as the chief heresiarch in matters of doctrine, but as the most dangerous and inveterate enemy of the established church in its connection with the state. Some of the clergy of Birmingham having warmly opposed the dissenters' claims, Dr. Priestley published a series of "Familiar Letters to the Inhabitants of Birmingham," on this and other topics connected with religion, which were probably not less provoking to the adverse party from the style of ironical pleasantry in which they were written.²⁴ In this state of irritation,

the old building of error and superstition, which a single spark may hereafter inflame, so as to produce an instantaneous explosion, in consequence of which that edifice, the erection of which has been the work of ages, may be overturned in a moment, and so effectually, as that the same foundation can never be built upon again." The latter of these sentences was very publicly quoted on a memorable occasion, March 2nd, 1790. Mr. Fox moved in the House of Commons for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. Among other opponents, appeared the respectable Sir W. Dolben, then member for Oxford University, who read from some controversial pamphlet the latter alarming sentence, and appalled the house by dealing out the gunpowder grain by grain. Mr. Courtenay, whose pleasantry had often relieved the tedium of parliamentary debate, attempted to calm the perturbed spirits of the worthy baronet by reminding him that his true Church, the best constituted Church in the world, could be in no danger, as the gunpowder was designed only to destroy an old building of error and superstition.

The present writer witnessed this scene from the gallery of the House, where among the crowd collected on the occasion was Dr. Priestley himself. He has mentioned the fears of Sir W. Dolben, which he attributes to some of the bishops, in his Preface to Fam. Letters, p. 9. The circumstance was also ludicrously introduced in *Epistola Macaronica*, attributed to Dr. Geddes.

²⁴ These letters chiefly respect the accusations brought against Dissenters, and especially Unitarians, by two clergymen, Messrs. Madan and Burn. The groundless calumny there stated respecting Dr. Priestley's interview with Silas Deane, on his death-bed, as circulated by the clergy, but fully exposed by a Baptist minister "who was with Mr. Deane when he died," shews what a height the *odium theologicum* against Dr. Priestley had attained.

another cause of animosity was added by the different feelings concerning that great event, the French Revolution. It is scarcely necessary here to observe, that in its early periods, whilst it was hailed by the warm friends of liberty and reform in England, as a noble assertion of the natural rights of man, it was viewed with apprehension and dislike by those attached to the existing order of things. In every considerable town divisions took place on this subject, which became the more rancorous, as the events attending the revolution were more awful and interesting. The anniversary of the capture of the Bastille, July 14, had been kept as a festival by the friends of the cause, and its celebration was prepared at Birmingham in 1791. Dr. Priestley declined being present; but in the popular tumult which ensued, he was particularly the mark of party fury. His house, with his library, manuscripts, and apparatus, were made a prey to the flames; he was obliged to fly for his life, and with some difficulty made his escape to a place of safety, while he was hunted like a proclaimed criminal. That this scene of outrage, attended with the conflagration of many other houses and places of worship, was rather favoured than controuled by some whose duty ought to have led them to active interference for the preservation of the public peace, is undoubted; at the same time it is not surprising that the rage of party was especially directed against one who had so much distinguished himself as a champion on the adverse side, and who had made his attacks without any regard to caution or policy. The legal compensation which he obtained for this cruel injury was far short of the amount of his losses. There were, however, many admirers of his virtues and talents, who, regarding him as a sufferer for his principles, and a man deeply injured, exerted themselves to support him under this calamity.²⁵ He

was not long after chosen to succeed his deceased friend, Dr. Price, as minister to a congregation at Hackney; and he joined to it a connexion with the new dissenting college established in that place. Resuming his usual occupations of every kind, he passed some time in comfort and tranquillity, for no man was ever blessed with a mind more disposed to view every event in life on the favourable side, or less clouded by care and anxiety. But party dissension still retaining all its malignity, he found himself and his family so much molested by its assaults, that he resolved finally to quit a country so hostile to his person and principles.

He chose for his retreat the United States of America, induced partly by family reasons, and partly by the civil and religious liberty which so eminently prevails under their constitution. He embarked for that country in 1794,²⁶ and took up his residence

²⁵ In his *Appeals*, published soon after the Riots, Dr. Priestley has described the alarms and injuries which he suffered, and acknowledged the respectful attentions which he received from societies of various descriptions. His letter on receiving an address from a society which was not formed till the following year will be found in M. *Repos.* ii. 6, 7.

²⁶ The friends of Dr. Priestley were by no means equally convinced of the necessity of his emigration, and he might, perhaps, have abandoned the design had he remained in England a few months longer, till the administration of Pitt, foiled in their attempt to destroy Mr. Hardy and his associates, by the forms of law, had lost much of its imposing influence on popular opinion. That Dr. Priestley for some time after he resided at Clapton was unapprehensive as to himself, we can state from the most intimate knowledge of the fact. He was prevented only by the very natural fears of Mrs. Priestley, and the opinion of some of his more timid friends from attending the Anniversary of the Revolution Society, in 1792, and moving the address then voted to the National Convention of France. During the next year, Mr. Burke appeared foremost in the attempt to excite a popular odium against his quondam acquaintance, employing most illiberally for that purpose Dr. Priestley's election to the *National Convention* from several departments, while the same compliment was paid to Mr. Wilberforce. Family reasons, at length, such as Dr. Priestley has explained in the Preface to his *Fast Sermon for 1794*, and his *Memoirs*, p. 125, determined his resolution. It happened that at the same period his friend Mr. Palmer, with Mr. Muir, &c. were exiled to New South Wales. The present writer, who has never ceased to regret the late commencement of his personal acquaintance with Dr. Priestley, was taking leave of him at the house of his friend, Mr. W. Vaughan, the day before his departure from London, when the Doe-

at the town of Northumberland in Pennsylvania, which he was first induced to visit on account of a settlement in that part of the state projected by his son and some other gentlemen, but which did not take place. It was a considerable labour in this remote situation to get about him a well-furnished library and a chemical laboratory, but this he at length effected.²⁷ Having declined a chemical professorship in Philadelphia, and being engaged in no public duty, he was able to devote his whole time to his accustomed pursuits; and the world was soon informed of his proceedings as an experimental philosopher, and as a writer. Theology continued to be the subject nearest to his heart, and his sense of its importance increased with his years. Political animosity pursued him in some degree to the Western world, and during the administration of Mr. Adams he was regarded by the American government with suspicion and dislike. That of Mr. Jefferson, however, was friendly to him, and he outlived all disquiet on this head. The death of

tor received a pious and affectionate letter from W. Skirving, one of the exiles from Scotland, then a prisoner awaiting his *deportation*, to whom he was a personal stranger, and who probably held a different creed, but who appeared from passages in the letter, to have attached himself to the study of prophecy, and to have been strongly attracted to some of Dr. Priestley's speculations on that subject.

W. Skirving was not a young man when exiled, and died soon after his arrival in New South Wales. One of his letters, interspersed with scriptural allusion, was read by the prosecutors of Mr. Hardy, and came under the observation of Lord Chief Justice Eyre, who exclaims, "What does this mysterious man mean? What is this *tabernacle of righteousness* to be erected at once without anarchy and confusion?" Trial, iv. 426. *Gallio cared for none of these things.*

²⁷ In M. Repos. (vi. 72,) are two letters from Dr. Priestley, dated June, 1794, soon after his arrival in America. They serve to shew the difficulties and delays he encountered in resuming his experiments. These letters were addressed to Mr. Parker, whose father, one of the few survivors among Dr. Priestley's early benefactors, is mentioned by him (Mem. p. 93,) as a generous contributor to his philosophical pursuits.

his youngest son, and afterwards of his excellent wife, together with other domestic calamities, were severe trials of his fortitude; but his temper and principles carried him through without any diminution of his habitual serenity and pious resignation.²⁸ A severe illness which he suffered in Philadelphia laid the foundation of a debility of his digestive organs, which gradually brought on a state of bodily weakness whilst his mind continued in full possession of all its faculties. In January, 1804, it became manifest to himself and others that he had not long to live, and this warning operated upon him to lose no time in finishing the literary tasks in which he was engaged, and particularly in putting into a state fit for the press a work in which he was greatly interested. He had long been preparing two considerable publications, which were, a Church-history, and notes on all the books of Scripture, and had learned with great satisfaction that his friends in England had raised a subscription to enable him to print them without risk. Like a man setting his affairs in order previously to a journey, he continued, to the last hour of his life, with the ~~utmost~~ calmness and self-collection, giving directions relative to his posthumous publication, intermixed with discourses expressive of the fullest confidence in those cheering views of future existence that his theological system opened to him; and on Feb. 6, 1804, in the 71st year of his age, he expired so quietly, that they who sat beside him did not perceive the last struggle.

Dr. Priestley was a man of perfect simplicity of character, laying open his whole mind and purpose on

²⁸ His youngest son, Henry, died in 1795. There is an edifying account of the father's deportment at the grave of this promising child, by a witness of the scene, in M. Rep. i. 396. Mrs. Priestley survived her son not many months, leaving behind her another son, who describes her in the continuation of his father's Memoirs, p. 193, as "supporting him under all his trials and sufferings with a constancy and perseverance" well deserving her husband's eulogium, as expressed in his diary, that she "was of a noble and generous mind and cared much for others, and little for herself through life."

all occasions, and always pursuing avowed ends by direct means. In integrity and disinterestedness, in the strict performance of every social duty, no one could surpass him. His temper was easy and cheerful, his affections were kind, his dispositions friendly. Such was the gentleness and sweetness of his manner in social intercourse, that some who had entertained the strongest prejudices against him on account of his opinions, were converted into friends on a personal acquaintance. Of the warm and lasting attachment of his more intimate friends a most honourable proof was given, which he did not live to know. It being understood in England that he was likely to suffer a loss of 200*l.* in his annual income, about forty persons joined in making up a sum of 450*l.*, which was meant to be continued annually during life. No man who engaged so much in controversy, and suffered so much from malignity, was ever more void of ill-will towards his opponents. If he was an eager controversialist, it was because he was very much in earnest on all the subjects into which he entered, not because he had any personalities to gratify. If now and then he betrayed a little contempt for adversaries whom he thought equally arrogant and incapable, he never used the language of animosity. Indeed, his necessarian principles coincided with his temper in producing a kind of apathy to the rancour and abuse of antagonists. In his intellectual frame were combined quickness, activity, acuteness, and that inventive faculty which is the characteristic of genius. These qualities were less suited to the laborious investigations of what is termed erudition, than to the argumentative deductions of metaphysics, and the experimental researches of natural philosophy. Assiduous study had, however, given him a familiarity with the learned languages sufficient in general to render the sense of authors clear to him; and he aimed at nothing more. In his own language he was contented with facility and perspicuity of expression, in which he remarkably excelled.

The writings of Dr. Priestley were so numerous, that they form a number of articles in each of the follow-

ing classes: General Philosophy; Pneumatic Chemistry; Metaphysics; Civil Liberty; Religious Liberty; Ecclesiastical History; Evidences of the Christian Revelation; Defences of Unitarianism; Miscellaneous Theology; Miscellaneous Literature. A particular enumeration of them cannot here be expected; and in addition to what has already been noticed, it will only be attempted to give a concise view of what he effected in the three branches of science for which he was most distinguished.

It is as a chemical philosopher that he stands highest in the capacity of an inventor or discoverer, and it is in this character that his name will probably be chiefly known to posterity.²⁹ The manner in which his inquiries into the nature of aërisome fluids commenced has already been mentioned. They had conducted him before 1772 to the knowledge of the nitrous and muriatic airs, the application of the former as a test of the purity of common air, and many facts respecting the processes by which air is diminished or deteriorated. In 1774 he made his fundamental discovery (which was also made about the same time by Scheele) of pure, or what he termed dephlogisticated air. In 1776 he communicated to the Royal Society some curious remarks on respiration, and the mode in which the blood acquires its colour from the air; and in 1778 he discovered the property of vegetables growing in the light to correct impure air. By his subsequent experiments, a variety of other aërisome bodies, and new modes of the production of those already known, the revivification of metallic calces in in-

²⁹ If Dr. Priestley, approved himself, as we believe, an eminent instrument of the Divine Goodness, in displaying the simplicity that is in Christ, so long obscured by the forms of man's invention, we trust there is a character, far above that of a philosopher, by which he will be known to late posterity, and with increasing veneration. Dr. Priestley, as our friend, whose interesting biography we have attempted to illustrate in these notes, will readily admit, appears always to have esteemed a Christian *the highest style of man*, and to have valued his scientific reputation chiefly as it might attract attention to his *theological pursuits*.

flammable air, and the generation of air from water, were added to the stock of facts in this branch of chemistry. On the whole, it may be affirmed that to no single inquirer has pneumatic chemistry been indebted so much as to Dr. Priestley, whose discoveries gave it a new form, and chiefly contributed to make it the basis of a system which has superseded all prior ones, and opens a boundless field for improvement in the knowledge of nature and the processes of art. It is remarkable however that he himself remained to the end of his life attached to that phlogistic theory which he had imbibed, and which the French chemists had been supposed entirely to have overthrown. Some of his latest writings of this class were attacks upon the antiphlogistic theory, of which he lived to be the sole eminent opposer. It is proper to observe, that no experimentalist was ever more free from jealousy, or the petty vanity of prior discovery. The progress of knowledge was his sole object, regardless whether it was promoted by himself or another; and he made public the results of his experiments while they were yet crude and unsystematic, for the purpose of engaging others in the same track of inquiry.

In the science of metaphysics, Dr. Priestley distinguished himself as the strenuous advocate of Dr. Hartley's theory of association, upon which he founded the systems of materialism and of necessity, as legitimate inferences. No writer has treated these abstruse subjects with more acuteness and perspicuity; and notwithstanding the load of obloquy heaped upon him on account of the supposed tendencies of his doctrines (obloquy which he disregarded, and tendencies which he denied), he established a high reputation in this branch of philosophy, and effected a great change in the mass of public opinion. Indifference may hereafter prevail respecting these topics; but as long as they remain subjects of discussion, his writings will probably be considered as the ablest elucidations and defences of the theories proposed in them.

In theology, Dr. Priestley, if not absolutely the founder of a sect, is yet to be regarded as a great leader

among a particular class of Christians. Passing through all the changes from Calvinism to Arianism, Socinianism, and finally to an Unitarian system in some measure his own, he remained through the whole progress a firm believer in the Jewish and Christian revelations, and their zealous defender against all attacks. As it was not in his temper to be either dubious or indifferent, he entered with greater earnestness than most of those called rational dissenters into disquisitions upon doctrinal points;³⁰ and,

³⁰ Dr. Priestley, in 1772, when he quitted the congregation at Leeds, appears to have regarded the pulpit as "almost entirely sacred to the important business of inculcating just maxims of conduct, and recommending a life and conversation becoming the purity of the gospel." Pref. Farewell Serm. p. 7. This inoffensive, though as experience has shewn, inadequate method of Christian teaching, has been highly approved and is probably still adopted by some who have not Dr. Priestley's opportunities of fully declaring themselves on other occasions. Dr. Priestley himself must have gradually made his pulpit-instructions more declaratory of his opinions, while he so generally preferred the primitive custom of an exposition to the comparative innovation of a sermon.

The Biographer has well remarked that Dr. Priestley "entered more than rational dissenters" in general "into doctrinal points." He had indeed reason to complain of those dissenters who, confining their published sentiments to Christian *generosities*, left him to be regarded as almost singular in his *heretical* aberrations, a very monster in theology. An excellent man, whom we had the happiness to know, the early and constant friend of Dr. Priestley, fell, we think, under this charge, probably from his mildness of disposition, certainly from no sordid motive. Dr. Kippis, in his Life of Lardner, 1788 (p. 61), proposes, "when certain pressing engagements are discharged, to impart to the public a few candid reflections on some late, and indeed still subsisting theological disputes." Yet it was left to his friend who preached the sermon on his justly lamented death to inform the congregation whose Christian instruction and devotion Dr. K. had promoted for many years, that he was an *Unitarian*. The present writer well knew a lady, who had been long of his congregation, and his intimate friend, who expressed surprise and disapprobation when once Dr. Priestley preached for him. It must, we think, be admitted, that neither this excellent man, nor Lardner, not to mention Locke and Newton,

as has been already observed, carried further than they did, his notions of religious discipline. In short, religion was to him the most important of all concerns, and that which chiefly excited the ardour of his mind. The essentials of the system in which he finally settled were, the proper humanity of Christ, including the rejection of his miraculous conception, and of the doctrine of atonement; and a future state, in which punishment is to be only emanatory, and all rational beings are to be finally happy: this was an inference from the doctrine of necessity combined with that of the benevolence of the Deity. He rejected an intermediate state of existence, and founded all his expectations of a future life upon revelation alone. Of the very numerous publications in which he proposed and defended his theological opinions, a great part were temporary and occasional. Those which may be deemed most durable and important are, his "Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion," his "Letters to a philosophical Unbeliever," his explanations of Scripture, and his inquiries into the faith of the early Christians, which he endeavoured to prove to have been conformable to the Unitarian system. To the study of scripture he was extremely attached, and he paid a reverent respect to its historical and prophetic authority. He published several works in practical divinity, of which, two sermons, on Habitual Devotion, and on the Duty of not living to ourselves, are of singular excellence.³¹

did justice to their opinions or their characters in their faint and tardy declarations against generally received and established errors. It is painful to those who revere the memory of the latter, to find them praised as enlightened believers, by a Wilberforce or a More, in the same work where they censure *Unitarians* as, according to Baxter, *scarce Christians*.

³¹ These Discourses have been largely circulated among the tracts of the Unitarian Society. For a complete enumeration of Priestley's works we must refer to a catalogue annexed to his Mem. Vol. ii.—Their number (108) and their variety serve to shew how constantly the author bore in mind the sentiment which he adopted from Hippocrates, as a motto to his seal, *Ars*

Of his other writings, the most important have been mentioned in the narrative of his life. Among these, his Histories of Electricity, and of Vision, are perhaps the only ones by which his name would have been perpetuated, had it been devoid of so many other passports to immortality.³²

A Short Memoir of the Rev. Robert Edward Garnham.

[Printed but not published.]

MMR. GARNHAM was born at Bury St. Edmunds, May 1st, 1753, and was the only surviving child of the Rev. Robert Garnham, many years master of the Free Grammar School at Bury, and rector of Newton and Hargrave, in Suffolk.* His mother was Mary, daughter of Mr. Benton, and sister of the late Edward Benton, Esq. secondary in the Court of King's Bench. Mr. Garnham received his school-education under the tuition of his father, who justly supported a considerable reputation for classical learning. He was removed from Bury school, and admitted of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1770, and the following

longa, vita brevis. We trust that a plan now in contemplation, for publishing by subscription, the whole of Priestley's works, except the *scientific*, will very soon be communicated to the public.

³² Besides various particulars respecting the character and opinions of Priestley, interspersed through successive volumes of the M. Repos., we may refer especially to his "Historical Eulogy," by Cuvier, Secretary to the National Institute of France, i. 216, 328, to an account of him in his residence at Northumberland, America, by Mr. Wm. Bakewell, of Melbourn, i. 393, 505, 564, 622, to his eulogium by the venerable Christian Patriot, and Philanthropist, Wyvill, ii. 464, to the character of Priestley by his successor at Leeds, the late Mr. Wood, iii. 401, and to V. F.'s. interesting sketch of that part of his life, in which he was connected with the Warrington Academy, viii. 226—231. R.

* He was formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and took the degree of B. A. 1737, and M. A. 1747. After having retired some years from his school, he died at Bury, Nov. 8th, 1798, aged 82. His widow survived him little more than twelve months, dying at Bury, Dec. 6th, 1799, aged 79. They were buried in the chancel of the parish church of Newton,

year was elected scholar. In 1774, he was admitted to his degree of B. A. which he obtained with credit to his College and himself, and was elected Fellow in 1775, and proceeded M. A. in 1777. In 1793, he was elected college-preacher, and, in November, 1797, was advanced into the Seniority. He was ordained deacon, March 3d, 1776, in Park-street Chapel, Westminster, by Dr Philip Young, then Bishop of Norwich; and afterwards entered on the curacies of Nowton and Great Welnatham, in the neighbourhood of Bury. On June 15th, 1777, he was ordained priest in Trinity College Chapel, by Dr. Hinchliffe, then Bishop of Peterborough and Master of the College. But in the course of his studying the scriptures, he was led to distinguish between the revealed word of God, and the accumulated and heterogeneous doctrines and commandments of men. He seriously considered and weighed the respect which was severally due to divine and human authority; and the unqualified assent which every official repetition of the public service of the church not only implied, but was understood to express. It was not, however, till after the coolest deliberation, and most entire conviction, that he determined never to repeat his subscription to the thirty-nine articles for any preferment which he might become entitled to from the college patronage, or which might be offered to him from any other quarter. Agreeably to and consistently with this state of mind, he resigned, at Midsummer, 1789, the curacies in which he was then engaged, and resolved thenceforward to decline officiating in the ministry. Mr. Garnham's health was never robust, and during the last five or six years of his life he suffered much from sickness, which prevented his residing at Cambridge, after the death of his father, in 1798, and indisposed and disqualified him from pursuing his former application to his studies. His indisposition and infirmities continued to increase, and, in the summer of 1801, he evidently appeared to be much broken. He was long sensible of his generally declining health; and so lately as the 4th of May, a few weeks before his death, he expressed this sentiment, in a pri-

vate letter, to the writer of this short memoir.—“ I shall never again (said he) be able to read through an octavo volume; and I have several times the last winter seriously thought my death was not far distant. Perhaps, if the ensuing summer be a favourable one, I may rally a little; if not, I shall despair, and expect to depart, without either feeling or occasioning a prodigious quantity of regret.” For some short time he had complained of an asthma, and on the Saturday preceding his death, was attacked with an inflammation on the lungs and breast. He continued till the morning of the following Thursday, June 24th, 1802, when he departed this life, in the 50th year of his age; and was buried in the chancel of Nowton Church, on Tuesday the 29th, with all the privacy consistent with customary decency, which he enjoined his executors to observe.

Mr. Garnham was well qualified, from his store of general learning, and from his excellent judgment, to have shone in the most distinguished society; but his natural temper disposed him to retirement from the busy hum of men. He was, therefore, generally reserved in mixed and numerous companies; but he greatly enjoyed the social intercourse of rational and liberal minds. With his select and confidential friends, he was unrestrained in his communications; nor was he less confidential in any trust reposed in him, than he was devoted to support every profession of friendship. His attainments, taste, and success in biblical criticism, and generally in classical literature, as also his acumen in theological controversy, may be satisfactorily ascertained by a reference to his writings. These were, indeed, anonymous; but the means of access to them will be made easy by the subjoined catalogue: and, if an ardour for truth, acuteness of discernment, soundness of judgment, and clearness of reasoning,—if freedom of inquiry, conducted with a happy mixture of wit and argument, where the subject or occasion admitted, can recommend theological literature, his writings will be read and respected wherever they are known. His private correspondence was peculiarly marked by accurate observations on the signs of

the times, and happy delineations of characters which have variously figured in his day, and whose movements came within his own knowledge, or were of unquestioned public notoriety.

His benevolence was best known to his more intimate friends; and nothing but his death releases the hand which writes this short memoir from the restriction of private confidence on this particular subject. It was in the course of our unreserved correspondence, immediately after the failure of a bank, at Bury, in 1797, which involved his father and himself in no inconsiderable loss, that he wrote, in reply to what I had proposed to him on that occasion. "But it will not be in my power to accept the very friendly invitation, till after the next dividend. Upon the bankruptcy taking place, I determined, if possible, not to fail in any one of the little douceurs I was in the habit of bestowing in the eleemosynary way, to a few persons with whose necessities I am acquainted; and as it is impossible to lose the best part of a year's income, without making retrenchments somewhere, I was prompt in deciding that the abridgment should be in personal gratifications; of which the greatest I certainly esteem that of presenting myself before my London friends." —See Monthly Magazine, Vol. xiv. pp. 89, 193.

CATALOGUE OF HIS WRITINGS.

No. 1. Examination of Mr. Garrison's Sermon, preached in the cathedral church of St. Paul, London, before the Lord Mayor, on May 25th, 1788—1789.

2. Letter to the Right Rev. the Bishop of Norwich, (Dr. Bagot) requesting him to name the Prelate to whom he referred as "contending strenuously for the general excellence of our present authorised translation of the Bible," 1789.

3. Letter to the Right Rev. the Bishop of Chester, (Dr. Cleaver) on the subject of two Sermons addressed

by him to the Clergy of his diocese; comprehending also a vindication of the late Bishop Hoadly, 1790.

4. Review of Dr. Hay's Sermon, intitled "Thoughts on the Athanasian Creed," preached April 19th, 1790, at the visitation of the Archdeacon of Bucks, 1790.

5. Outline of a Commentary on Revelations xi. 1—14. 1794.

6. A Sermon preached in the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, on Thursday, Dec. 19th, 1793, the day appointed for the commemoration of the benefactors to that society, 1794.

PAPERS IN "COMMENTARIES AND ESSAYS," SIGNED SYNERGUS.

1. Vol. I. 1786. Art. V. p. 94—111. A Paraphrase and Notes on Romans v. 8—18. 2. Art. XI. p. 467—509. Observations on part of the 8th, 11th, and 12th chapters of Daniel.

3. Vol. II. 1801. Art. XIII. p. 1—8. An Illustration of 1 Cor. x. 14—24. 4. Art. XIX. p. 123—252. A Summary View of the Prophecies relating to Antichrist, contained in the writings of Daniel, Paul, Peter, Jude, and John. 5. Art. XX. p. 253—267. On the Forensic Metaphors adopted in the New Testament. 6. Art. XXI. p. 268—278. On the terms Redemption, Ransom, Purchase, &c. adopted in the New Testament. 7. Art. XXII. p. 279—311. On the Sacrificial Phrases adopted in the New Testament.

PAPERS IN THE "THEOLOGICAL REPOSITORY."

1. Vol. V. 1786. p. 38—56, signed *Ereunetes*. Observations on Isaiah vii. 10—23. viii. 5—19. 2. p. 273—288. Observations on various Texts of Scripture, signed *Ereunetes*.

3. Vol. VI. 1788, p. 60—78. signed *Ereunetes*. On the Oblation of Isaac, as figurative of the Death of Christ. 4. p. 135—174, signed *Idiota*. On the Elijah foretold by Malachi. 5. p. 244—284, signed *Idiota*. An Inquiry into the Time at which the Kingdom of Heaven will commence.

J. D.

EXTRACTS FROM NEW PUBLICATIONS.

The Fathers.

[From Edinburgh Review, Nov. 1814, No. 47. Vol. xxiv. pp. 58—68. Review of *Boyd's Translations*.]

WE had thought that the merits of the fathers were beginning to

be pretty fairly estimated; that, whatever reverence might still be due to those eminent men, for the sanctity of their lives, their laborious lucubrations, their zeal and intrepidity in the cause of the church, and all those

solemn and imposing lights, in which their nearness to the rising sun of Christianity places them ; yet, that the time of their authority over conscience and opinion was gone by ; that they were no longer to be regarded as guides either in faith or in morals ; and that we should be quite within the pale of orthodoxy in saying that, though admirable martyrs and saints, they were, after all, but indifferent Christians. In point of style, too, we had supposed that criticism was no longer dazzled by their sanctity ; that few would now agree with the learned jesuit, Garasse, that a chapter of St. Augustine on the Trinity is worth all the Odes of Pindar ; that, in short, they had taken their due rank among those affected and rhetorical writers, who flourished in the decline of ancient literature, and were now, like many worthy authors we could mention, very much respected and never read.

We had supposed all this ; but we find we were mistaken. An eminent dignitary of the Church of England has lately shewn that in his opinion at least, these veterans are by no means invalided in the warfare of theology ; for he has brought more than seventy volumes of them into the field against the Calvinists. And here is Mr. Boyd, a gentleman of much Greek, who assures us that the Homilies of St. Chrysostom, the Orations of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and —*proh pudor!*—the Amours of Daphnis and Chloe are models of eloquence, atticism, and fine writing.

Mr. Boyd has certainly chosen the safer, as well as pleasanter path, through the neglected field of learning ; for, tasteless as the metaphors of the fathers are in general, they are much more innocent and digestible than their arguments ; as the learned bishop we have just alluded to may, perhaps, by this time acknowledge ; having found, we suspect, that his seventy folios are, like elephants in battle, not only ponderous, but dangerous auxiliaries, which, when once let loose, may be at least as formidable to friends as to foes. This, indeed, has always been a characteristic of the writings of the fathers. This ambidextrous faculty—this sort of Swiss versatility in fighting equally well on both sides of the question, has dis-

tinguished them through the whole history of theological controversy :—the same authors, the same passages have been quoted with equal confidence, by Arians and Athanasians, Jesuits and Jansenists, Transubstantiators and Typifiers. Nor is it only the dull and bigoted who have had recourse to these self-refuted authorities for their purpose ; we often find the same anxiety for their support, the same disposition to account them, as Chillingworth says, ‘Fathers when for, and children when against,’ in quarters where a greater degree of good sense and fairness might be expected. Even Middleton himself, who makes so light of the opinions of the fathers, in his learned and manly inquiry into miracles, yet courts their sanction with much assiduity for his favourite system of allegorizing the Mosaic history of the creation ; a point on which, of all others, their alliance is most dangerous, as there is no subject upon which their Pagan imaginations have rioted more ungovernably.

The errors of the primitive doctors of the church ; their Christian heathenism and heathen Christianity, which led them to look for the Trinity among those shadowy forms that peopled the twilight groves of the academy, and to array the meek, self-humbling Christian in the proud and iron armour of the Portico ; their bigoted rejection of the most obvious truths in natural science ; the bewildering vibration of their moral doctrines, never resting between the extremes of laxity and rigour ; their credulity, their inconsistencies of conduct and opinion, and worst of all, their forgeries and falsehoods, have already been so often and so ably exposed by divines of all countries, religions and sects ; the Dupins, Mosheims, Middletons, Clarkes, Jortins, &c. that it seems superfluous to add another line upon the subject : though we are not quite sure that, in the present state of Europe, a discussion of the merits of the fathers is not as seasonable and even fashionable a topic as we could select. At a time when the Inquisition is re-established by our beloved Ferdinand ; when the Pope again brandishes the keys of St. Peter with an air worthy of a successor of the Hildebrands and

Perettis; when canonization is about to be inflicted on another Louis, and little silver models of embryo princes are gravely vowed at the shrine of the virgin: in times like these it is not too much to expect that such enlightened authors as St. Jerome and Tertullian may soon become the classics of most of the continental courts. We shall therefore make no further apology, for prefacing our remarks upon Mr. Boyd's translation with a few brief and desultory notices of some of the most distinguished fathers and their works.

St. Justin, the martyr, is usually considered as the well-spring of most of those strange errors which flowed so abundantly through the early ages of the Church, and spread around them in their course such luxuriance of absurdity. The most amiable, and therefore the least contagious of his heterodoxies,* was that which led him to patronize the souls of Socrates and other Pagans, in consideration of those glimmerings of the divine Logos which his fancy discovered through the dark night of heathenism. The absurd part of this opinion remained, while its tolerant spirit evaporated. And while these Pagans were still allowed to have known something of the Trinity, they were yet damned for not knowing more, with most unrelenting orthodoxy.

The belief of an intercourse between angels and women, founded upon a false version of a text in Genesis, and of an abundant progeny of demons in consequence, is one of those monstrous notions of St. Justin, and other fathers, which show how little they had yet purged off the grossness of heathen mythology, and in how many respects their heaven was but Olympus with other names:— Yet we can hardly be angry with them for this error, when we recollect, that possibly to their enamoured angels we owe the beautiful world of

Sylphs and Gnomes, and that, perhaps, at this moment, we might have wanted Pope's most excellent Poem, if the Septuagint Version had translated the book of Genesis correctly. This doctrine, as far as it concerned angelic natures, was at length indignantly disavowed by St. Chrysostom. But daemons were much too useful a race to be so easily surrendered to reasoning or ridicule; there was no getting up a decent miracle without them, exorcists would have been out of employ, and saints at a loss for temptation:—Accordingly, the writings of these holy doctors abound with such stories of daemonic possession, as make us alternately smile at their weakness, and blush for their dishonesty. Nor are they chargeable only with the impostures of their own times; the sanction they gave to this petty diabolism has made them responsible for whole centuries of juggling. Indeed, whoever is anxious to contemplate a picture of human folly and human knavery, at the same time ludicrous and melancholy, may find it in a history of the exploits of daemons, from the days of the Fathers down to modern times; from about the date of that theatrical little devil of Tertullian, (so triumphantly referred to by Jeremy Collier), who claimed a right to take possession of a woman in the theatre ('because he there found her on his own ground'), to the gallant daemons commemorated by Bodin and Remigius, and such tragical farces as the possession of the Nuns of Loudon. The same features of craft and duperie are discoverable through the whole from beginning to end; and when we have read of that miraculous person, Gregory Thaumaturgus, writing a familiar epistle to Satan, and then turn to the story of the young Nun, in Bodin, in whose box was found a love-letter 'a son cher daemon,' we need not ask more perfect specimens of the two wretched extremes of imposture and credulity, than these two very different letter-writers afford.

The only class of daemons whose loss we regret, and whose visitations we would gladly have restored to us, are those 'seducing sprites, who,' as Theophilus of Antioch tells us, 'confessed themselves to be the same that had inspired the heathen poets.' The

* Still more benevolent was Origen's never-to-be-forgiven dissent from the doctrine of eternal damnation. To this amiable weakness, more than any thing else, this father seems to have owed the forfeiture of his tank in the Calendar; and in return for his anxiety to rescue the human race from hell, he has been sent thither himself by more than one Catholic theologian.

learned Father has not favoured us with any particulars of these interesting spirits; has said nothing of the ample wings of fire, which, we doubt not, the demons of Homer and Pindar spread out, nor described the laughing eyes of Horace's Familiar, nor even the pointed tail of the short devil of Martial; but we own we should like to see such cases of possession in our days; and though we Reviewers are a kind of exorcists, employed to cast out the civil demons of scribbling, and even pride ourselves upon having performed some notable cures; from such dæmonies we would refrain with reverence, i.e., so anxiously dread the escape of the spirit, that, for fear of accidents, we would not suffer a saint to come near them.

The belief of a millennium or temporal reign of Christ, during which the faithful were to be indulged in all sorts of sensual gratifications, may be reckoned among those gross errors, for which neither the porch nor the academy are accountable, but which grew up in the rank soil of oriental fanaticism, and were nursed into doctrines of Christianity by the Fathers. Though the world's best religion comes from the East, its very worst superstitions have sprung thence also; as in the same quarter of the heavens arises the sun-beam that gives life to the flower, and the withering gale that blasts it. There is scarcely one of these fantastic opinions of the Fathers that may not be traced among the fables of the antient Persians and Arabians. The voluptuous Jerusalem of St. Justin and Irenaeus may be found in those glorious gardens of Iram, which were afterwards converted into the Paradise of the Faithful by Mahomet; and their eummoured 'Sons of God' may be paralleled in the angels Harut and Marut of Eastern story, who, bewildered by the influence of wine and beauty, forsook their high celestial rank, and were degraded into teachers of magic upon earth. The mischievous absurdity of some of the moral doctrines of the Fathers; the state of apathy to which they would reduce their Gnostic or perfect Christian; their condemnation of marriage and their Monkish fancies about celibacy; the extreme to which they carried their notions of patience, even to the prohibition of all resistance to aggression, though the aggressor

aimed at life itself; the strange doctrine of St. Augustine, that the Saints are the only lawful proprietors of the things of this world, and that the wicked have no right whatever to their possessions, however human laws may decree to the contrary; the indecencies in which too many of them have indulged in their writings; the profane frivolity of Tertullian, in making God himself prescribe the length and measure of women's veils, in a special revelation to some ecstatic spinster; and the moral indignation with which Clemens Alexandrinus inveighs against white bread, peri-wigs, coloured stuffs and lap-dogs! all these, and many more such puerile and pernicious absurdities open a wide field of weedy fancies, for ridicule to skim, and good sense to trample upon: ---But we must content ourselves with referring to the works that have been written upon this subject; particularly to the treatise 'de la Morale des Pères' of Barbeyrac; which, though as dull and tiresome as could reasonably be expected from the joint efforts of the Fathers of the Church and a Law professor of Groningen, abundantly proves that the moral tenets of these holy men are for the most part unnatural, fanatical and dangerous; founded upon false interpretations of holy writ, and the most gross and anile ignorance of human nature; and that a community of Christians, formed upon their plan, is the very Utopia of monkery, idleness and fanaticism.

Luckily, the impracticability of these wretched doctrines was in general a sufficient antidote to their mischief: But there were two maxims, adopted and enforced by many of the Fathers, which deserve to be branded with particular reprobation, not only because they acted upon them continually themselves, to the disgrace of the holy cause in which they were engaged, but because they have transmitted their contamination to posterity, and left the features of Christianity to this day disfigured by their taint. The first of these maxims—we give it in the words of Mosheim—was, 'that it is an act of virtue to deceive and lie, when by such means the interests of the church may be promoted.' To this profligate principle the world owes, not only the fables and forgeries of these primitive times, but

many of those evasions, those compromises between conscience and expediency, which are still thought necessary and justifiable for the support of religious establishments. So industrious were the churchmen of the early ages in the inculcation of this monstrous doctrine, that we find the Bishop Heliodorus insinuating it, as a general principle of conduct, through the seductive medium of his Romance *Theagenes and Chariclea*. The second maxim, ‘equally horrible,’ says Mosheim, ‘though in a different point of view, was, that errors in religion, when maintained and adhered to after proper admonition, are punishable with civil penalties and corporeal tortures.’ St. Augustine has the credit of originating this detestable doctrine; to him, it seems, we are indebted for first conjuring up that penal spirit, which has now, for so many hundred years, walked the earth, and whose votaries, from the highest to the meanest, from St. Augustine down to Doctor Duigenan, from the persecutors of the African Donatists to the calumniators and oppressors of the Irish Catholics, are all equally disgraceful to that mild religion, in whose name they have dared to torment and subjugate mankind.

With respect to the literary merits of the Fathers, it will hardly be denied, that to the sanctity of their subjects they owe much of that imposing effect which they have produced upon the minds of their admirers. We have no doubt that the incoherent rhapsodies of the Pythia (whom, Strabo tells us, the ministers of the temple now and then helped to a verse) found many an orthodox critic among their hearers who preferred them to the sublimest strains of Homer or Pindar. Indeed, the very last of the Fathers, St. Gregory the Great, has at once settled the point for all critics of theological writings, by declaring that the words of Divine Wisdom are not amenable to the laws of the vulgar grammar of this world;—‘non debent verba celestis originis subesse regulis Donati.’ It must surely be according to some such code of criticism that Laetantius has been ranked above Cicero, and that Erasmus himself has ventured to prefer St. Basil to Demosthenes. Even the harsh, muddy and unintelligible Tertullian, whom Salmasius gave up in despair, has found a warm admirer

in Balzac, who professes himself enchanted with the ‘black lustre’ of his style, and compares his obscurity to the rich and glossy darkness of ebony. The three Greek Fathers, whom the writer before us has selected, are in general considered the most able and eloquent of any; and of their merits our readers shall presently have an opportunity of judging, as far as a few specimens from Mr. Byod’s translations can enable them:—But, for our own parts, we confess, instead of wondering with this gentleman that his massy favourites should be ‘doomed to a temporary oblivion,’ we are only surprised that such affected declaimers should ever have enjoyed a better fate; or that even the gas of holiness with which they are inflated, could ever have enabled its coarse and gaudy vehicles to soar so high into the upper regions of reputation. It is South, we believe, who has said that ‘in order to be pious, it is not necessary to be dull;’ but, even dullness itself is far more decorous than the puerile conceits, the flaunting metaphors, and all that false finery of rhetorical declamation, in which these writers have tricked out their most solemn and important subjects. At the time, indeed, when they studied and wrote, the glories of ancient literature had faded; sophists and rhetoricians had taken the place of philosophers and orators; nor is it wonderful that from such instructors as Libanius they should learn to reason ill and write affectedly. But the same florid effeminacies of style, which in a love-letter of Philostratus, or an ephrasis of Libanius, are harmless at least, if not amusing, become altogether disgusting, when applied to sacred topics; and are little less offensive to piety and good taste, than those rude exhibitions of the old moralities, in which Christ and His apostles appeared dressed out in trinkets, tinsel, and gold-rococo. The chief advantage that a scholar can now derive from a perusal of these voluminous doctors, is the light they throw upon the rites and tenets of the Fanatics; in the exposure and refutation of which they are, as is usually the case, much more successful than in the defence and illustration of them. In this respect Clemens Alexandrinus is one of the most valuable, being chiefly a compiler of the contents of ancient learning, and abounding with

curious notices of the religion and literature of the Gentiles. Indeed the manner in which some of the Fathers have been edited, sufficiently proves that they were considered by their commentators as merely a sort of inferior classics, upon which to hang notes about heathen gods and philosophers. Ludovicus Vives, upon the 'City of God' of St. Augustine, is an example of this class of theological annotators, whom a hint about the three Graces, or the god of Lampsacus, awakens into more activity than whole pages about the Trinity and the resurrection.

The best specimen of eloquence we have met among the Fathers, at least that which we remember to have read with most pleasure, is the *Charisteria*, or *Oration of Thanks*, delivered by Gregory Thaumaturgus, to his instructor Origen. Though rhetorical like the rest, it is of a more manly and simple character, and does credit alike to the master and the disciple. But upon the whole, perhaps St. Augustine is the author whom—if ever we should be doomed, in penance for our sins, to select a Father for our private reading—we should choose, as, in our opinion, the least tiresome of the brotherhood. It is impossible not to feel interested in those struggles between passion and principle, out of which his maturer age rose so triumphant; and there is a conscious frailty mingling with his precepts, and at times throwing its shade over the light of his piety, which gives his writings an air peculiarly refreshing, after the pompous rigidity of Chrysostom, the *Steie* affection of Clemens Alexandrinus, and the antithetical trifling of Gregory Nazianzen. If it were not too far the indelible stain which his conduct to the Donatists has left upon his memory, the philosophic mildness of his *Tract against the Manicheans*, and the candour with which he praises his heretical antagonist Pelagius, as 'sanctum, bonum et prædicandum virum,' would have led us to select him as an example of that tolerating spirit, which—*we grieve to say*—is so very rare a virtue among the saints.—Though Augustine, after the season of his follies was over, very sedulously avoided the society of females, yet he corresponded with most of the holy women of his time; and there is a strain of tenderness through many of

his letters to them, in which his weakness for the sex rather interestingly betrays itself. It is in the consolatory epistles, particularly, that we discover these embers of his youthful temperament;—as in the 98rd to Itala, on the death of her husband, and the 263rd, to Sapida, in return for a garment she had sent him, in the thoughts of which there is a considerable degree of fancy as well as tenderness.

We cannot allude to these fair correspondents of Augustine, without remarking, that the warmest and best allies of the Fathers, in adopting their fancies and spreading their miracles, appear to have been those enthusiastic female pupils by groups of whom they were all constantly encircled;—whose imaginations required but little fuel of fact, and whose tongues would not suffer a wonder to cool in circulating. The same peculiarities of temperament, which recommended females in the Pagan world, as the fittest sex to receive the inspirations of the tripod, made them valuable agents also in the imposing machinery of miracles. At the same time it must be confessed that they performed services of a much higher nature; and that to no cause whatever is Christianity more signally indebted for the impression it produced in those primitive ages, than to the pure piety, the fervid zeal, and heroic devotedness of the female converts. In the lives of these holy virgins and matrons, in the humility of their belief and the courage of their sufferings, the gospel found a far better illustration than in all the voluminous writings of the Fathers:—there are some of them, indeed, whose adventures are sufficiently romantic, to suggest materials to the poet and the novelist; and Ariosto himself has descended to borrow from the legends his curious story of Isabella and the Moor,—to the no small horror of the pious Cardinal Baronius, who remarks with much asperity on the sacrifice of which 'that vulgar poet' has been guilty, in daring to introduce this sacred story among his fictions. To the little acquaintance these women could have formed with the various dogmas of ancient philosophy, and to the unincumbered state of their minds in consequence, may be attributed much of that warmth and clearness, with which the light of Chris-

tianity shone through them; whereas, in the learned heads of the Fathers, this illumination found a more dense and coloured medium, which turned its celestial beam astray, and tinged it with all sorts of gaudy imaginations. Even where these women indulged in theological reveries, as they did not embody their fancies in-

to folios, posterity, at least, has been nothing the worse for them; nor should we have known the strange notions of Saint Macrina about the soul and the resurrection, if her brother, Gregory of Nyssa, had not rather officiously informed us of them, in the dialogue he professes to have had with her on these important subjects.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

Original Letter of George Fox's.

SIR, — Bromley, Jan. 8th, 1815.

THIS following is a copy of a letter from George Fox, some variations in spelling excepted. It was addressed to his wife, who was the widow of Judge Fell. The original letter is in my possession, indorsed by my father, as "George Fox's own writing." It appears to have been written in 1674, when a prosecution was pending against him for worshiping God as his conscience dictated, and for obeying the command of Christ, "Swear not at all," by refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. The details of this prosecution are given in his Journal, pp. 462—480.

The letter is curious in several respects: 1st. As to what it says "concerning—black cloth," the use of which does not seem to have been proscribed in George Fox's family. 2d. Brief as this unquestionably authentic epistle is, the writer of it twice uses the pronoun "you" in addressing his wife, although he says in his Journal, p. 22, "When THE LORD sent me into the world," meaning about the 24th year of his age, "I was required to *thee* and *thou* all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small." 3d. This letter is said to have been sent by a person "that had his neck broke out of the joint," I suppose from Kingston upon Thames to Swarthmore Hall, in Lancashire, where he resided after his marriage. I subjoin the narrative of this singular accident and recovery from his Journal p. 446, and remain, very respectfully,

THOMAS FOSTER.

"Dear Love, to whom is my love in the Seed that is over all, and to Thomas* and all the children. And

Friends live in the peaceable life and truth that the Lord may be glorified in you all, that hath purchased and bought you. I did write from Banbury and E. Man from London, and concerning the *black cloth* Edward Renald to take care about it. And that *you* might return that money *you* speak of to E. Man for me. And I have been at London about a week, and have a copy of my indictment, and nothing is done as yet, but they would be willing to get it off, and we shall see this term.

"The people of the sessions† *was* like friends and the Lord's power *was* over all, and they are very fair. Gerard Roberts was with some of Worcestershire officers since they came to London, and [they] do pretend much, some of them that moved formerly for my going to Worcester. E. Fell was well lately and Margaret, but her boy is very weak, the Lord strengthen it; poor woman, she is exercised, but I would have her get a place of rest, and to settle her mind in. This is John Jay, that had his neck broke out of the joint, *that I do send this by*. So in haste my love in the life,

G. ff."

"Kingston, Month 3d, Day 17th."

"While we were at Shrewsbury, in East Jersey," [in 1672] says George Fox, p. 446, "an accident befel, which for the time was a great exercise to us; John Jay, a friend of Barbadoes who came with us from Rhode Island, and intended to accompany us through the woods to Maryland, being to try a horse, got upon his back, and the horse fell a running, cast him down upon his head, and broke his neck, as the people said. Those that were with him took him up as dead, carried him a good way, and laid him on a tree. I got to him as soon as I could;

* Thomas Lower, his wife's son-in-law.

† At Worcester.

and feeling him, concluded he was dead. As I stood by him pitying him and his family, I took hold of his hair, and his head turned any way, his neck was so limber. Whereupon I took his head in both my hands, and setting my knees against the tree, I raised his head, and perceiving there was nothing out or broken that way. Then I put one hand under his chin, and the other behind his head, and raised his head two or three times with all my strength, *and brought it in*. I soon perceived his neck begin to grow stiff again, and then he began to rattle in his throat, and quickly after to breathe. The people were amazed; but I bade them have a good heart, be of good faith, and carry him into the house. They did so, and set him by the fire. I bid them get him something warm to drink, and put him to bed. After he had been in the house a while he began to speak; but did not know where he had been. The next day we passed away (and he with us, pretty well) about sixteen miles, to a Meeting at Middletown, through woods and bogs, and over a river; where we swam our horses, and got over ourselves upon a hollow tree. Many hundred miles did he travel with us after this".

Reasons for rejecting the Calvinistic Theology. No. I.

Blackheath, Jan. 2, 1815.

WHEN a child I was taught to consider that system of doctrines which is contained in the Assembly's Catechism, and which is a good exhibition of the Calvinistic creed, as the genuine doctrine of Christianity. In youth I saw reason to question the identity of Christianity and Calvinism, and came at length to believe that they are as far removed as truth and falsehood. But retaining as I do a respect almost to deference for the talents and virtues of many, between whose religious tenets and those of the Westminster divines there is little or no difference, I have thought it both decent and safe, to re-consider in maturer years the reasons, which have convinced me, that the Calvinistic system is not Christianity. In this review it seemed best to examine, first of all, the direct evidence on both sides by a critical reading of the books of the New Testa-

ment. The result was an increase of conviction, that the orthodox Theology has originated principally in misconception of the meaning of the Apostle Paul in his letters to the different Churches; and that this misconception has arisen from inattention to the circumstances both of the writer and the Churches, and to the occasion and object of the letters. After the critical question it seemed lawful and just to examine the system itself, and see if its features are such as indicate probability of truth. It was not too much to require, that it be free from contradiction, that professing to illustrate it shall not destroy the moral attributes of deity, that it maintain the paternal as well as the judicial character of God, since Christianity asserts both, that it tend not to confuse all moral perception by requiring that we admire the display of justice where the human understanding discerns only the want of it, and that it shall not forbid the appeal to human reason while the system is founded on the supposition of analogy between the divine government, and human jurisprudence, the collected reason of man. It may be objected in limine, that to pronounce a divine proceeding unjust because the justice is not apparent to the partial view of a finite understanding, is both arrogant and impious. The proposition is true; but as an objection to the examination of any doctrine which professes to be Christian, it is inapplicable. Christianity proclaims itself to be a display of divine wisdom and goodness to the mind of man, a revelation of as much of the divine government as it is necessary that he should know, in order to contemplate the moral character of his Creator with adoration, gratitude and confidence. It declares, that God is just and true and merciful, that as judge of all he cannot do wrong, that as father of all he is infinitely good to all, and that his government is without partiality, rejecting all distinctions but of moral quality. Glory, honor and peace to every man who does good, to the Jew first and also to the Gentile, for there is no respect of persons with God. It is also certain, that the Apostles of Christ regarded the Christian dispensation as an emanation of those moral attributes which they

ascribed to God, and that they invited and exhorted all men to examine and receive their doctrine as being not only the truth, but such truth as gave evidence and display of the divine perfections. This was an appeal to the moral part of our nature, call it reason, the moral sense, or with the Apostle the law of God written in our hearts, whatever phraseology be chosen, the fact is the same: and their appeal was either without meaning or it meant, that taking the words justice, goodness and mercy to denote such moral qualities as they are generally used to denote among men, it appears, and appears to the human understanding in the Christian revelation, that God is infinitely just, good, and merciful. It is then, irrelevant and frivolous to object, that human reason is out of its limits when it presumes to inquire if any proceeding ascribed to the moral governor of the world be merciful or cruel, just or unjust. In this inquiry such a use is made of reason, or of the moral faculty, as was challenged and demanded by the first preachers of the gospel; and therefore it must be acknowledged by every Christian to be a lawful use of the faculty. Indeed it would be absurd to attribute to Christian doctrine any instrumentality in forming the moral character, if the moral perfections of the divine Nature, though exerted in the Christian Economy, were not also displayed to human apprehension. On any other supposition the exhortation to be followers of God, or to imitate his moral character, would be trifling at best, and in connexion with some religious tenets might be pernicious in the extreme. Believing then, that it is not only lawful, but incumbent on me, to examine whatever professes to be the scheme of the moral government of God disclosed in Christianity by the light of my moral faculties, which is also "light from heaven," I have judged it right to make the Calvinistic creed the subject of such examination; and I shall now add some reasons which appear to me conclusive against its pretensions to be considered the true form of Christian doctrine.

1. In that system we contemplate the Supreme Being, in his relation to the whole race of man, solely in a judicial character. It presents to us a legal

proceeding, and could not be explained in any other terms than such as are taken from the proceedings in courts of judgment. Nothing is built upon the parental relation to all and each of mankind. It stands as it might have stood, had the relation between God and man, universally, never been described in the Christian Scriptures to be that of a father and his children; and for this reason it wants that amiable and attractive character which meets us in every page of the New Testament, that benign radiance which, falling upon the ordinary charities of our nature, kindles them into devotion. If in any part of the scheme the paternal mind is displayed, it is in the institution of an atonement for sin, that the merciful father may pardon those whom the righteous judge must condemn; but since it was also predetermined (for this makes a link in the system,) that a part only of the offending family shall receive the benefit of this institution, with respect to the rest of mankind, that is, the vast multitude of the non-elect, the judicial character alone has been displayed. If offers of peace have been made to them, the grace which was necessary to acceptance of them, though granted to the chosen, has been withheld from them; and they perish beneath the sentence of the law, having received none of the benefit of a filial relation. Had the Roman father spared one of his equally guilty sons and ordered the other to execution, the survivor might recognize the father, but the victim of public justice only the judge: who could applaud either the father or the judge? Yet he who was taught of God has commanded us to imitate our father who is in heaven; 'be ye perfect, as your Father who is in heaven is perfect.'

2dly. The system which I reject makes moral responsibility to exceed the measure of ability. If any proposition may be regarded as an axiom in morals, this is one, that there cannot exist an obligation to perform what is naturally impossible. No man is obliged to perform miracles. It is said, that every man inherits a corrupt nature, which is incapable of perfect obedience to the divine law. Perfect obedience, therefore, would be contrary to his nature; and whether the deviation from a law of nature be

in matter or in mind, it is still a miracle. Yet man, inheriting such a nature, by the first act of disobedience, incurs infinite guilt, and falls under the sentence of condemnation to infinite misery. It may be replied, that, because the inability is a moral inability, the sentence is not unjust; and if the moral impotence were acquired there would be reason in the reply; but it is hereditary and not acquired; and we must subvert our notions of justice altogether before we can acknowledge responsibility to be the same in both cases. Still I am told that the sentence is just, because I have lost the pure nature which I received from my Maker: but this is an assertion contrary to fact; I cannot have lost what I never possessed. Adam may have possessed a different nature before his fall; but because it was his nature it is not therefore mine, unless we are identical, especially as it ceased to be his before he became my progenitor. My nature is that constitution of mind and body which I received from my Maker, and which gives the sole measure of my responsibility.

3dly. It is essential to punitive justice that the measure of punishment be in proportion to the degree of guilt. No considerations whether of philosophy or policy can sophisticate our moral feelings into a persuasion, that it is just to punish all offences equally by making the punishment of every offence extreme. The laws of Draco were written in blood, but they have never been cited as a model of justice. It is right that there be a gradation in punishment as well as in guilt. The only mode in which a creature can be made to suffer infinitely is by protracting his suffering without end; and the only case in which this can be just is that in which infinite guilt has been contracted; and if this can be shewn to be an impossible case, it will follow that infinite punishment can never be just. It is admitted, that there is a degree of mental imbecility, which sinks below moral responsibility; that the same criminal action incurs different degrees of guilt before and after the maturity of mental powers; and that suppose two men, accomplices in a crime, with an identity of all circumstances, the difference of mental power forming the only difference between them, one having a feeble

mind of confined views, the other possessing a powerful intellect which commands a wide extent of prospect into the past and future, it would be universally felt and acknowledged, that the guilt of the one as much exceeds that of the other, as his mind is more powerful, and his view more comprehensive than his companion's. This feeling put in the terms of a general proposition, may be thus expressed; the action being the same the degrees of guilt in the agents are in the direct ratio of their powers of mind; if greater, greater; and if less, less; if finite, finite; and if infinite, infinite. But since there exists but one infinite mind, and every created mind is finite, the highest degree of guilt which can be incurred by the highest intellect must fall short, and infinitely short, of infinite guilt. Infinite punishment, therefore, or punishment infinitely prolonged, cannot be just, unless it be no injustice to make the measure of punishment to exceed infinitely that of the guilt. The Calvinistic system of doctrines is built upon the supposition of infinite guilt, whence it infers the justice of eternal punishment, and the necessity of an infinite satisfaction. To me therefore it appears that the foundation is sand, and that the system which stands upon it, though it has stood for centuries, must fall at last; a ruin which shall be contemplated in distant ages with fear and wonder.

J. M.

Partington, near Warrington, 14 Dec,
Sir,

1814.

UNDERSTAND you are in the habit of inserting in your Repository every increase to the cause of Unitarianism. I think you should be as particular in relating every loss which the Unitarians experience. But from your known impartiality I conceive the fault is not in you, but in your over zealous Unitarian Correspondents who wishing to make their cause appear more flourishing than it really is, send you an account of the gains only and not of the losses of their party.

In your last month's Repository [ix. 719-720.] you mention a new Unitarian chapel, being opened at Altringham, on Thursday, September 8. It appears that soon after this event a great and blessed change must have been wrought in the minds of some of the principal persons concerned in the

erection of the chapel at Altringham. For on the 6th. of November following, the persons above alluded to, being trustees to the chapel in this place lately occupied by an Unitarian minister, and having a legal right to appoint to the situation, chose an evangelical minister, of the Calvinistic persuasion, in opposition to a young man proposed by the Unitarian trustees of Warrington, and therefore suspected of being tinctured with the Unitarian heresy. But this, Sir, is not the only triumph which the friends of orthodoxy expect from the happy and glorious change produced on the persons above alluded to. They are some of the leading persons in the Altringham and Hale congregations, and the leading trustees at Cross Street Chapel in this neighbourhood, and we may therefore anticipate that when these places become vacant, gospel ministers will be introduced into all the three situations. I trust to your impartiality for the insertion of this letter, and am,

Sir, Your obedient servant,
A Friend to the real Gospel of Jesus Christ.

SIR, *Bristol, Dec. 1814.*
PERHAPS you have heard the story of the English sailor, who finding an unarmed enemy, presented him with one of his pistols, saying, "Now let us fight fair!"

Nor can you be ignorant, if you would, nor insensible of the contrary nature of the Christian's address to his supposed enemy, the infidel; he first binds his hands behind his back, threatens him with fine, tortures, imprisonment and perhaps death if he utters a syllable, thrusts a great gag in his mouth, and then exclaims "now let us hear what you have to say"!

And don't tell us that this conduct is contrary to the precepts and spirit of Christianity: what! my Lord Ellenborough, Lord Erskine, Sir Vicary Gibbs, and Sir William Garrow, are undoubtedly christians! you cannot deny it, or if you should, you will not be believed, for we know them by their fruits.

CHIRON.

SIR, *Trowbridge, Dec. 9, 1814.*
YOU must have seen in the papers such an account as the follow-

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ing; on such a day Mr. Such-a-one was condemned to pay to the King a fine of two hundred pounds and to be imprisoned in Newgate for the space of two years for writing a book called "Ecce Homo".

You must have seen too, I suppose, the speeches of Mr. Whitbread and others about the Spanish Inquisition, and have noticed the universal silence about the English one.

I can hardly tell which of these circumstances appears to me most shocking, nor am I going to express to you my deep detestation and horror at such proceedings, for that is impossible. Also, I do not wish to give occasion for refusing the insertion of this.

But what I wish you to notice is, the cruelty and baseness, the detestable cowardice, while things are in this situation, of writing defences of the Christian Religion, of challenging its adversaries, provoking them to the combat, when it is known the more strong and unanswerable their arguments may be, the more certain will be their personal ruin.

The only reply that I can think of, and I hope and believe that Unitarians generally are able to make it, is, that they are not more approvers than parties in such transactions; but even this will not be sufficient, since, (not to mention that they make no exertions to remedy this case, nor to notice Mr. Smith's declaration, that as Christians, they have no further toleration to wish for,) the charge of cowardice cannot be got over whilst they continue to provoke their fetter'd antagonists.

I am sure that any man of a free and generous spirit must scorn such conduct when seen in this light, which I till better informed, shall continue to think the true one. I am,

Sir, Your obedient servant,
THOMAS.

Natural Arguments for a Future State.

IF we admit the belief of an infinitely wise, powerful and good Being presiding over the universe and superintending the affairs of his creatures, we must, I think, see reason to suppose that this life is not intended as the termination of our existence. Independently of the revelation which God has been pleased to bestow on man

kind, in which we are assured in the most express terms of the resurrection of the dead, and of a future state of retribution; independently I say of this revelation, there are many appearances in the present system which seem strongly to countenance the hope of futurity.

If we consider the powers of the human mind, and the situation and circumstances of man, we must clearly perceive that his present limited sphere of existence can never afford sufficient exercise for those noble faculties of mind which give him such a distinguished superiority over the lower orders of creatures. Is it not then highly reasonable to suppose that those powers have been conferred on him in order to qualify him for a much higher sphere of action than is at present allotted to him? Of all the various tribes of beings which inhabit this lower world, man alone seems capable of becoming a subject of moral discipline, and of being made acquainted with the attributes, will and perfections of his Creator; and does not this peculiar trait, this characteristic feature of the human mind, strongly indicate some striking peculiarity in our ultimate destination? All other beings appear to answer the end for which they were created; they attain their utmost perfection in a short space of time. Man alone is in a state of continual progression, without ever being able to arrive at the summit. Is it not then highly reasonable to suppose that in some future period of his existence, his faculties also shall have room to expand themselves, and that a degree of light and knowledge shall be poured in upon him, suitable to his exalted capacity?

This argument will acquire a much greater degree of force, if we consider the case of those exalted characters who, from a principle of love to their Creator, and of the purest benevolence and good-will to their fellow-creatures, have devoted their time, their talents and their property to the promotion of those objects which they conceived to be the most eminently subservient to the welfare and improvement of the whole human race: and this, not only without the least prospect of any remuneration in the present state, but often at the hazard of every thing dear to them in life; and have even encountered death

itself in its most horrid forms, rather than commit the smallest deviation from what they believed to be the will of their creator. In the case of Jesus Christ, of the Apostles and primitive Christians, as well as of innumerable others of the best and wisest of men in all ages since, we see such examples of disinterested piety, virtue and benevolence, and such fearless sacrifices in the cause of truth and integrity, as it seems impossible to suppose can be intended to go without an appropriate and distinguished reward. And as we have seen in fact that their portion here consisted of little more than a life of suffering, terminated in a violent and a painful death, it seems perfectly agreeable to all our ideas of the wisdom, justice and goodness of the Creator to suppose that at some future period, they will not only be restored to existence, but will be placed in circumstances suited to their distinguished excellence and merit. For can we for a moment suppose that the worthiest, the most amiable, and the most truly valuable of human characters were formed, only that they might pass through this life, in a state of the most extreme suffering, and then to be for ever buried in oblivion, and no further notice taken of those highest instances of virtue which would have reflected honour on superior beings? The desire of immortality has been evidently implanted in the human breast by the Creator of all things; is it not then the highest reflection both on his wisdom and goodness to imagine that he should have afforded such hopes to the wisest and best of men only in order to *deceive* them into acts of virtue so exceedingly painful to themselves, and which in this case do not appear to be of the least utility to the world?

That Almighty Being who at first called us into existence, who has given us bodies fearfully and wonderfully made; and who has adapted every part of our frame with the most consummate wisdom and the most exquisite skill to the purposes for which they were designed; who has bestowed on us powers of mind whereby we are made capable of admiring and imitating his divine perfections; this same almighty power, we cannot doubt to be equally competent to restore the existence he at first be-

stowed, at any time, and in any way, which to his infinite wisdom shall seem fittest and best; and surely it is much more agreeable to all our natural ideas of the divine benignity, as well as wisdom, to suppose that he will do so, than to imagine that after having trained up his rational offspring in habits of piety and virtue, by the hopes of immortality which he has implanted in them, he should afterwards leave them to perish in the grave, and their memory to be blotted out from the creation. The higher we advance in intellectual and moral attainments, the stronger in general is our desire of a future existence beyond the grave; and this alone seems a very considerable argument in favour of its reality. All the other propensities of our nature have objects suited to their gratification; we cannot then suppose that "the noblest want which nature knows to raise," the most exalted and animating hope that can enter into the mind of man, that hope which is the main spring of every thing great, good and amiable in the human character, and without which we should be but little superior to the brute creation; we cannot, I say, form the supposition that this hope alone should have been destined by the Creator of all things to perish in eternal oblivion.

The many pleasing analogies of a future state which are furnished by the contemplation of nature cannot but be highly gratifying to the serious and contemplative mind. The wonderful changes which many of the insect tribe are destined to undergo; from the state of a crawling, groveling reptile, intent upon nothing but gratifying the sensual appetites, it gradually decays, sickens, and spins itself a tomb, in which it wraps itself up, and remains without the least appearance of motion or animation; but after a while it bursts the enclosure, and breaks forth with new life and beauty, with powers of action and enjoyment unknown before; and from a crawling reptile on the earth becomes a winged inhabitant of the air. What a beautiful and striking emblem does this afford of our own revival at some future period! The revivifying effect of spring both on the animal and vegetable creation, after the torpor and death-like inactivity occasioned by the

winter's cold, if not a direct argument, is surely calculated to suggest a hope that such may be the case with respect to ourselves. The warmth of the spring no sooner returns, than we behold myriads of living creatures starting into activity and enjoyment, which before lay motionless without any appearance of life or sensation. The trees which of late had the appearance of dry sticks of wood, now put forth their leaves, are adorned with blossoms and loaded with fruit. Plants and vegetables are every where springing up, of which perhaps a short time before we could hardly have discovered the least traces. Can we then behold these glorious instances of the divine wisdom and benignity so strikingly displayed in the renovation of the lower orders of nature, and not be tempted to exclaim in the beautiful and emphatic language of an elegant poet,

Shall I be left abandoned in the dust,
When fate relenting lets the flowers revive?
Shall nature's voice to man alone unjust,
Bid him, though doomed to perish, hope to live?
Is it for this fair virtue oft must strive
With disappointment, penury and pain?--
No; Heaven's immortal spring shall yet arrive,
And man's majestic beauty bloom again,
Bright thro' th' eternal year of love's triumphant reign.

SIR, Newport, Isle of Wight.

In the memoirs of the generous and independent Mr. Hollis, it is related that during his visit to Naples in 1751, having received information from his steward, that one of the livings in his gift was likely to become vacant, he took occasion to express his opinion respecting the qualifications which every clergyman of the Establishment should possess, in order properly to discharge the duties required of him in the pastoral office. These qualifications appearing to me no less reasonable than necessary, I am induced to submit to you an extract from one of Mr. Hollis's letters.

"First, that his morals be irreproachable; secondly, that he be of a mild and tractable disposition; thirdly, that he be moderately learned; fourthly, that he be undoubtedly a Whig in its most extensive sense, that is,

an advocate for the civil and religious rights of mankind, without being actuated by the narrow views of a party; fifthly, that he should consider his parish not only as a place that is to procure such an annual income, but also as a place to which he owes a duty, and that of the highest nature; and consequently, that he will do his utmost of himself, and not by any substitute, to introduce, maintain and cherish in it, whatever is virtuous and good; sixthly, that as to his age, he be neither old nor young; as to his person, that he be rather of an agreeable aspect; and that he has a clear and sweet voice.

" You know the living of is a year; this income, to my idea, is a sufficient, nay, a handsome and ample provision for a clergyman, and may, if I may so say, command a good one.

This being the case, I shall expect of the person, whom I shall present, the following things: First, that he resigns all other livings that he may have, and content himself with this alone; secondly, that he shall reside upon the living, and constantly serve it himself, except in case of sickness; thirdly, that he shall promise before his being presented, verbally upon his honour, in the presence of some people of character, and in writing by a letter to me, that if at any time hereafter he shall choose to accept any other living, sinecure, or church preferment, in that case he will directly resign back the living of——".

I will venture to give you one other extract from a letter written to Mr. Hollis by one offering himself as a candidate for the living before mentioned; the sentiments it contains are alike honourable to the patron and the writer, and deserve a more general diffusion.

July 31st, 1754.

" As I am sensible, Sir, it would be the highest presumption in any one to offer himself to you on such an occasion, whose principles and notions were such as you could not approve of, I would beg leave, therefore, here to declare, that as to my political sentiments, I am an entire friend to the liberties of my country, upon the principles of the last happy Revolution; and do believe, that the exercise of arbitrary and tyrannical power in a state is an infringement of the

natural rights of mankind, and productive of intolerable mischiefs and inconveniences. And as to points of religion, it is my firm and settled opinion, that every man has an undoubted right to think and judge for himself, and ought to be tolerated in that way of worship which in his own conscience he believes to be right; and I look upon a spirit of persecution on account of differences of opinion in matters of religion, as odious, inhuman and unchristian, and as utterly unjustifiable upon any terms whatever.

And whereas, Sir, I am informed that the living of is of considerable value, and may be deemed a very fair and ample provision for any one clergyman, without any additional preferment; and also that the parish there, being of large extent, may well demand all the care and application of any one man; upon these considerations I do think it my duty, and it is my sincere resolution, that if you shall vouchsafe to present me thereto, immediately to quit the living of which I now enjoy, and that part of the cure of in which I am now engaged; and to apply myself wholly and solely to the care of the parish of, and if at any time hereafter I should think fit to accept of any other preferment that may offer, then upon the same considerations immediately to resign the living of, so that another person may be presented to it.

It is, Sir, my further resolution, and I think it my duty, upon the motives aforesaid, if ever it shall happen that I am settled in so large and extensive a cure as that of, to keep a constant residence upon it, and personally to attend the service of the church therein as long as it shall please God to enable me so to do. And that I might be more fully at liberty to attend so great a charge, I would engage myself in no other offices or employments whatever, whether ecclesiastical or civil; nor in any school whether in my house or elsewhere; nor in receiving any sort of persons into my family as boarders, or in any other way which might be thought in the least inconsistent with, or an hinderance to the duties of my function to which I should think it my duty entirely to devote myself."

I will only add, that on the death

of the incumbent, Mr. Hollis presented this gentleman to the living in a most handsome manner.

Perhaps the following epitaph (extracted from Memoirs of Hollis, p. 784,) in honour of Algernon Sidney, may please some of the readers of your Repository :

"Algernon Sidney fills this tomb,
An atheist, for disclaiming Rome;
A rebel bold, for striving still
To keep the law above the will.
Crimes! damned by Church government:
Oh! whither must his ghost be sent?
Of heaven it cannot but despair,
If holy Pope be turnkey there:
And hell will ne'er it entertain,
For there is all tyrannic reign.
Where goes it then? Where 't ought to
go—
Where Pope nor Devil have to do."

Your's,
J. C.

SIR,

Dr. Chauncey, after some others who went before him, has given us an inviting description of the new heavens and the new earth, in which the righteous will dwell, when they shall have obtained the applauses of their Judge, supposing this habitation to mean a renovated state of the earth, assimilated to paradise. But, why may we not here, look forward to a new and more glorious world? We must presume that this present world existed thousands of ages before it became a Chaos, from which it was restored and fitted up as a receptacle for the posterity of Adam, and that in its former state, it was the habitation of rational beings, who, after having approved themselves the devoted servants of God, and finished their probationary course, were not annihilated, but translated to some other world, more congenial to their exalted characters, where they might be advancing in perfection and dignity for ever. Why may not this be the case, then, with all the upright children of men? And, as each must be exercised in contemplating the wonders of creation, and be always increasing in divine knowledge, who can say, that the comets are not the habitations of all such, which are so admirably calculated, for animating them with this most sublime knowledge, whilst they are conveying them through millions of worlds? These thoughts may possibly amuse your

more ingenious correspondents, and produce from them some profound disquisitions. I am,

Yours, &c.

W. H.

P. S. All your readers must have been sensibly affected with the account of the premature death of Mr. Buckminster. This account, though I do not by any means compare them together, brought the great Crichton to my recollection, who, when he sat for his degree and the question was put to him, *Quem librum profiteretur?* answered *Quem non?* And, after the professors had tired him with every book which they thought puzzling, to no sort of purpose, at last put into his hands an illegible book, on which he said, *Tu legito domine, et ego exponam.* But, the sermons which I reported to you in one of your former numbers, (ix. 401.) as published at Boston almost three years ago, were not written by Mr. B. but were published by Mr. Freeman: some of them, I am persuaded, are his own, though I am not authorized to say that they all or the greatest part of them are really his.

I have been lately reading Dr. Chauncey's book on Universal Salvation. I must confess his arguments to be very ingenious, though I cannot yet say, that I think he has altogether proved his doctrine. His introduction, however, of the pre-existence and incarnation of Jesus Christ, have involved him in great obscurity.

I have also been reading an excellent pamphlet on *repentance*, by the late Mr. Mole, and think that he has proved his point, as far as he goes. But, there are some difficulties, to which he has not adverted. A man, for instance, may be influenced by certain predominant passions, until that period of his life, when these passions cease, and may suffer so much from reflecting on what he has done, as to be truly sorry that he had ever transgressed. But, how can such a one be accounted a true penitent, on the supposition that if his passions had not forsaken him he would have proceeded in still indulging them? And, hence the young should be taught to practice all purity and goodness in the prime of life, lest what they may at last be led to consider as true penitence, should be found to be no repentance, but only a bodily infirmity or decrepitude.

Fisher Street Red Lion Square,
Sir, Nov. 23, 1814.

HAVING appeared in your Repository as a defender of the doctrine of the pre-existence of Jesus Christ, and having upon a further investigation of the subject been induced to change my mind, I think it right, as a friend to truth and free inquiry, to acknowledge that I am now convinced that I was mistaken in my ideas on that subject, and as to the meaning of those passages of scripture by which I endeavoured to support that doctrine.

There is no passage of scripture, I believe, on which the advocates for the Arian hypothesis lay more stress than John xvii. 5. "And now O Father glorify thou me with thine ownself, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was." On that passage, I myself have made the following remarks,* "It is almost impossible to conceive of any terms by which the fact of his (Christ's) pre-existence could be more fully ascertained, than by those here used, and it will surely require great critical skill to explain the words so as to set aside that idea." So I then thought; but further reflection has led me to think otherwise. It is true our Lord prays to be glorified with a glory which, he says, he had with the Father *before the world* was; but the inquiry is whether Jesus Christ by this expression meant to say that he was *then* in the actual possession of this glory? That the glory for which our Lord here prays, was actually bestowed upon him after his resurrection, the scriptures expressly affirm. Peter tells the Jews that God had glorified his son Jesus whom they slew and hanged on a tree. This glorification therefore, whether we refer it to his person, which was raised to a life of incorruption and invested with glory, or to the honour and dignity which was conferred upon him, when he had a name given him above every name, in heaven and earth, and all things subjected to him, was the glorification of a human being, of that man who suffered the death of a malefactor; and it is also represented as the reward of his obedience unto death;

as such he here prays for it, I have glorified thee on earth, and now O Father, glorify me with thine ownself. Because "he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross, therefore God hath highly exalted him." "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." Now a glory which was the consequence of his resurrection and the reward of his obedience, could not be a glory which he actually possessed before he entered upon the performance of the work which his father gave him to do, and which he had before the world was.

If Jesus Christ, according to the Trinitarian hypothesis pre-existed as properly God, a divine person, necessarily possessing all the perfections of deity, his glory as such must be essential to his being, that glory therefore he could neither be divested of nor pray for, nor can that be the glory here intended.

If Jesus pre-existed as a superhuman being in a state of glory, the glory which he here prays for and which was conferred upon him in answer to his prayer, could not be his glory as such, because, as we have seen, he was glorified not as a superhuman, but as a human being, properly a man, who had suffered death, a man raised up of the seed of David, and made in all things like unto his brethren of mankind, nor could his glory as such be the reward of his obedience and consequently not the glory intended in this passage.

Again, if Jesus Christ was properly a man, as the scriptures always represent him to be, deriving his being, as all other men derive theirs, by a natural descent from his parents, being made of the seed of David, then he could not have existed before he was born into the world, and consequently could not have been in possession of glory before the foundation of the world.

What then did our Lord mean when he said of the glory for which he prayed that *he had it with his father before the world was?* The expression "with thee," may, it is true, mean in the enjoyment of thy presence and in a participation of thy glory: so our Lord says, ch. xiii. 31, 32, anticipa-

* Mon. Repos. iii. 653.

ing his future glory, "Now is the *son of man* glorified, and God is glorified in him; if God be glorified in him, God shall also glorify him *in or with* himself, and shall straight-way glorify him." So the words, "glorify thou me *with thine ownself*," in the former clause of this passage, must be understood; but the latter clause, "the glory which I had with thee," does not necessarily carry in it that meaning, nor can it be so understood if the glory he prays for was that which was to be bestowed upon him, as properly one of the human race, on account of his eminent piety and obedience to the will of God. We may desire and pray to share with others in their possessions, but we do not usually say that we have that with another which we have in our own actual possession, and we may have that with another of which we have not, and cannot have the present actual enjoyment. Thus an heir may have the honours and possessions he is heir to with his father, while at the same time he has not the actual possession of either. So the Apostle reasons. "The heir, says he, though *he be Lord of all*, while he is a child differeth nothing from a servant, but is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father." The writer to the Hebrews encourages those Christians to take joyfully the spoiling of their goods, "knowing, says he, that ye have, (not in possession, but) in *heaven*, a better and enduring substance." And the elder son in the parable of the prodigal, had, as the father tells him, all that he possessed. "All that I have is thine," yet, at the same time, he had not in actual possession, or at his own disposal so much as a kid to make merry with his friends. But he had the whole of the inheritance, (though not in his actual possession,) with his father. Thus the unborn children of a man possessed of riches and honours, while they have no existence, may be said to have with their father those riches and honours, and when born and grown up to maturity may claim the possession of them as what they had long before with him. This is no uncommon case, for inheritances are frequently settled upon persons and their future heirs for ever.

Now apply this reasoning to the

case before us. It is said of Jesus Christ that "He was verily fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifested," says Peter, "in these last times for you, who by him do believe in God, who raised him from the dead and gave him glory." Now to what was he fore-ordained but to that glory which God conferred upon him when he had raised him from the dead? Another writer tells us that God appointed his son heir of all things, and Paul speaking of him as the heir of God, eminently so, says that we are heirs of God and joint-heirs with him. To this glory was Jesus to be advanced by a course of obedience and sufferings, and therefore having finished the work which his father had given him to do, and being just about entering on his last sufferings, he prays to be glorified with his father, that is to be put into the actual possession of that glory of which he was the appointed heir, to which he was fore-ordained and which, as such, he had with the father before the world was; and therefore he says to two of his disciples after his resurrection, "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?"

These observations, Sir, I submit to you as a more natural and rational interpretation of these words of our Lord, in his address to his father, than that which is generally given of them on the Arian scheme.

Yours, &c.
JOHN MARSOM.

SIR, Dec. 15, 1814.

The following account of ancient versions of the scriptures is extracted from the *Prolegomena* of Walton's Polyglott, and if you think it will be of use to your readers, is very much at your service.

PHILO-BIBLICUS.

VERSIONS.

I. The first, and most ancient of all, is that noble one of the Seventy-two elders, which was translated from the Hebrew into the Greek language, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, two hundred and seventy-seven years before Christ. Some say there was another made before this, and that, either the whole scripture was not translated (but the Pentateuch only) by the Seventy, or that that version perished.

II. The second is the Samaritan. This version appears to have been made, at least, before the time of our Lord. John Morinus makes it more ancient than the Greek, viz. the time of Esdras.

III. The third is the Chaldee Paraphrase, which was made by various authors, and at different times. Onkelos translated the law about the time of Christ. Jonathan-Ben-Uzziel, a disciple of the celebrated Hillell, (concerning whom the Talmudists have some wonderful traditions,) translated the former and latter prophets. He lived about thirty years before Christ. Another paraphrase is ascribed to him of the Pentateuch, but this may be proved to be the work of a much later author.

IV. There is a tradition in the East, that the Syriac of the Old Testament as well as the New, was made not long after the times of the apostles, and arguments are not wanting to prove this. It is publicly read in the churches through the East. It follows principally the Hebrew text, from which the version of the Old Testament was made.

V. The fifth is the Ethiopic of the whole scripture, which is much more ancient than Joseph Scaliger thinks. It is mentioned by Chrysostom. It follows, for the most part, the Greek in the Old Testament, and agrees pretty much with the Vulgate in the New.

VI. An Armenian Version of the whole scripture is extant, as I have been informed by eye-witnesses. I have the Armenian four gospels, but so obliterated in many places that, without the assistance of another copy, they could not be engraven on types. Most affirm that it was made by Chrysostom.

VII. Origen arranged the Greek Versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus in his Tetrapla and Hexapla, and to them added a fifth and sixth with the Hebrew text, whence he called these volumes Octapla. Aquila, who revolted to the Jews, made his about Anno Christi, 130. Theodotion, a proselyte, becoming an apostate, first a Marcionite, afterwards a Jew, made his about Anno Christi, 180. Symmachus, a proselyte also, edited his in the reign of Severus, about Anno Christi 200.

VIII. The Coptic or Egyptian, as

Athanasius conjectures, was made about the time of the council of Nice.

P. S. There is an error, Mon. Rep. Vol. ix. p. 597. in the minute of Astley Meanley's death. He died in June and not in March.

SIR,

I WAS glad to see announced in your last number, that the controversy on future punishments was closed, and that the popular doctrine of atonement was to be brought under discussion. I could have wished indeed, that it had been simply the doctrine of atonement, and that the question had been confined solely to ourselves, who are Unitarians. For, if we enter into the popular doctrine, a vast field of controversy is open on a variety of unimportant points, which are all set aside by the conviction in our own minds, that there is only one God, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Of course, as we deny that Jesus is other than a man, in the highest degree favoured by God and raised to a name above every name, we cannot enter into the metaphysical arguments on sin, of the necessity of an infinite Mediator, and similar points, by which the mind is led away from scripture to vain and frivolous disputes on the idle traditions of men. But the question of atonement itself is of a far more important nature, and according to the opinions entertained of it, will be the respect and reverence paid to our Saviour. I have found in the writings of several Unitarians, and the conversations of others, that I differ very materially from them in my view of our Saviour's character. Whilst they consider him merely as a teacher sent from God, mighty in word and deed, I look upon him as my Saviour, as one through whom the Creator bestows the greatest of gifts to the human race. He is not to me therefore merely the pointer out of immortal life to his followers, but the indispensable medium, by which we enter into eternity. I need not say with what terms of gratitude such a benefactor must be hailed by every one who looks up to the head of our community, the first-born from the dead, the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, in the light I do. The language of St. Paul will not appear to us too glowing, nor are any metaphors too strong to us, who be-

lieve, that the garments of the holy ones will be made white in the blood of the Lamb. We can enter into the spirit of all these figurative allusions, without in the least trenching on the distinction between him, who was made unto us sanctification, and the great Father of him and of us, who thus condescended to make him the instrument of our atonement. I here use the word atonement, since it is the English term in the vulgar translation for *καταλλαγη*; the more appropriate term being reconciliation, which is in fact the term used in other places. When I profess then my sincere belief in the atonement, let it be understood, that I do not involve any thing in that term, which is not comprehended by St. Paul in the term *καταλλαγη*, or reconciliation; and on this I shall be glad to see a better union among Unitarian Christians. I need not say, that the inquiry into this interesting topic may be conducted in the spirit of brotherly love; and if I might be permitted to advise, I would recommend, that no appeal should be made to any other authority than that of the scriptures. The opinion of writers, living or dead, may be adopted; but if it is introduced, there is danger of it leading into endless controversy: whereas, if we keep closely to the scriptures, our minds will be enlarged, and whatever mistaken views any of us may have entertained, they are most likely to be rectified when they are weighed in the balance of the sanctuary. I remain, Sir,

Your constant Reader,
W. FREND.

SIR, Banbury, Jan. 2d, 1815.

I PERCEIVE that your thoughts have been, and will, for a time, be much turned to the scripture doctrine of atonement. It appears to me very desirable that some person should give us a simple view of that subject, devoid of all manner of controversy.

All persons who read their Bible must see that much is said about it both in the Old Testament and the New. The question then is, *What is it?*

If we attempt to explain it all away, or make what is said of our Lord's death, in relation to it, a mere shadow, and the shadow of a shade; and do not give the public something determinate and substantial, that they can fix

and rest their thoughts upon, I am very much inclined to think that they will continue to view the subject in the manner they now do and have long done.

Nothing, not a word of a controversial nature should be said in it, concerning the person of our Lord, &c. that the reader's mind may not, on that account, be prejudiced against it. Some writers, by attempting too much, effect little or nothing. They forget, *hasten slowly.*

I am, &c.

J. JEVANS.

Chapter Coffee-house, Jan. 7, 1815.

SIR,

IN your Repository for September last, (ix. 553.) a Correspondent who calls himself "A Friend to Justice, Truth and Candour," extracts a note from Storer's "Graphical and Historical Description of the Cathedrals of Great Britain," which either he or you cite as an instance of "blundering bigotry." As a liberal Christian I was inclined to acquiesce in the propriety of this character, especially as you, Sir, expressed your approving wish for more of this ingenious correspondent's communications. But one of the most decided Trinitarians eagerly seized this, to him propitious, opportunity of shewing what he called the "bigotry and intolerant illiberality of the professors of reformed Christianity." His arguments were so clear and unanswerable, that I was induced to read Storer's work alluded to, and consequently to address to you this note, that your correspondent might not again fall into the vulgar error of deciding on men's motives merely from their opinions. This champion of the established faith investigated your correspondent's letter paragraph by paragraph, and observed, "Now, Sir, it so happens that (although the able writer is himself an Unitarian) the main object of Jones's Ecclesiastical Researches (published in 1812) is *not* to demolish that Gothic and barbarous system of Christianity mis-called orthodoxy," but to prove, as justly stated in the note cited in your Repository, that Josephus and Philo were apologists of Christianity. It is true, however, that the "Sequel to the Ecclesiastical Researches," published nearly two years later, and either since or about the same period that the 6th number of

Storer's Cathedrals appeared, has this object. Now, Sir, this "Friend of Justice, Truth and Candour" himself actually commits the very blunder which he erroneously and very uncandidly attributes to the orthodox writer; for he confounds the object of two works published at very different periods, which are very dissimilar, and support distinct paradoxes, although the inquiries in the one may have facilitated those in the other. Again, your "Friend of Truth," &c. roundly asserts "it is impossible that the writer of the note should have read Mr. Jones's book." This is an assertion certainly as bold, as dogmatical, egotistical and gratuitous, as any ever made by the most fanatical Methodist, or the most ferocious champion of election and reprobation. Had your correspondent, Sir, shewn only half as much candour and christian toleration as he has done blind zeal and vulgar dogmatism, he would have logically concluded, that the writer of the note was liberally willing to avail himself of every effort to support Christianity, whilst he with no less caution took care to guard against the adoption or implied reception of any sentiment which according to his mode of thinking was of a heterodox nature. If the Unitarians thus seek to stigmatize every writer who presumes to think for himself and to follow his own opinions, however contrary to theirs, then what are they better or more tolerant in this respect than the Papists? If the dogmas of Unitarianism be as infallible as those of Popery, if the one must be obeyed or received as well as the other, and if all Trinitarians are to be deemed knaves or fools, as all disbelievers in Popescraft are considered heretics, then what has society gained? what have liberality and toleration to boast of by the Unitarian reform? Alas! poor Candour, how hardly art thou dealt with by both professed friends and enemies? Truly, Sir, I feel ashamed of such a professed friend, but real enemy, to "Justice, Truth and Candour." He adds, "had the writer read only the preface with as much sound judgment as orthodoxy, he would have known his man better." Where is the proof that he did not "know his man," as it is vulgarly expressed? He candidly admits the talents and learning of Mr. Jones, at the same time he expresses his generous, liberal, and I

must say, truly christian hope, that his fancy may not prevail over his judgment, that he may not be misled "by every wind of false doctrine," and that he may not persist in what the orthodox note-writer supposes to be heterodox notions. Surely, Sir, the laconic expression of such sentiments and feelings can neither be "blundering bigotry," uncandid, illiberal nor unworthy selfishness. Mr. Jones has repeatedly in the Ecclesiastical Researches exposed the errors of Dr. Priestley, who wished to be considered the apostle of modern Unitarianism. As to the epithet, "puerilities of Unitarianism," I leave it where I found it. I wish mankind had no errors but those merely puerile. Yet I must observe, and I do it with regret, for poor human weakness, that this writer's sneer at bells, &c. is an example, even in the pages of the Mon. Repos. In the present state of society all poor men and women cannot have watches; public worship also is a little older than this invention for measuring time; and as there are to be no churches or houses of worship with bells, and consequently with clocks, how are the poor to know the hour of public meeting? Is it enmity to the arts that would exclude bells and clocks? or is it to imitate more closely the Mohammedans, in order to have a person sit on a high tower to call the time? The Unitarians are, I hope, as attentive to public worship as other Christians; they have also *fixed hours* for it, and as to "forms of prayer," the chiefs of them read all their prayers as *formally* as if they were printed. The scoff therefore at the very convenient use of bells is *puerile* and unphilosophical; the professed rejection of all forms being inconsistent and *impracticable*.

But the most flagrant instance of vulgar bigotry is your "candid correspondent's" assigning causes and ascribing motives to others merely from his own feelings. From time immemorial, merciless bigots, intolerant and unchristian dogmatists, men of fire and faggot, who would burn their neighbour for the glory of God, have uniformly attributed their own motives to all other persons who differed from them in opinion. This has been the grand besetting sin of all professing Christians, and infidels have too truly observed, that "all sects and denominations persecute whenever it is in

their power;" "and so also do the philosophical and rational Unitarians," triumphantly exclaimed my orthodox antagonist. Because the orthodox note-writer parenthetically mentioned Unitarianism in the same paragraph with the name of Gibbon, it is *candidly* concluded that "this can arise only from one of three causes—want of charity—or of knowledge—or of honesty. Of which will the writer of the note make his choice?" [ix.] 554. Here, Sir, is an example of the most intolerant, uncandid and illiberal bigotry that ever existed; it is the more odious that it is found in an avowed friend to liberal sentiment and Christian charity, and cannot be surpassed by any thing in the Evangelical, Orthodox, Catholic or Anti-jacobin Magazines. To declare that a writer must be a bigot, an ignoramus or a knave, on no other grounds than the frank and manly expression of his real sentiments, or a simple allusion to a particular hypothesis, might perhaps be tolerable in the dark ages or in the tribunals of the Inquisition; but in the present, it is truly deplorable. "If this be the practice," he continued, "of modern Unitarians, they may have changed names, but certainly not principles; τις παλπίδος φυγάς ὦν, καὶ σαύλος ἔφυγε, or as Seneca observed, *Sequitur seipsum et urget gravissimus comes*; and whatever they may call themselves, they are still practically Papists, Calvinists or dogmatists, and inasmuch as they profess but do not practice liberality, hypocrites." It is indeed strange that any man possessing the least knowledge of the human mind should ever consider mere opinions as virtues or vices, and found a general character on what may be as transitory as the morning dreams. A man may be a Unitarian to-day and a Trinitarian to-morrow, or vice versa, without any change in his moral character, provided that merely his motive is the love of truth to the best of his knowledge.

Finally, Sir, "Your correspondent," remarks my orthodox critic, "evinces a very imperfect acquaintance with the Scriptures;" he gravely says, "We Unitarians are, in one respect, in the situation of *Esau*. The hand of every man is against us, and our hand is against every man." Perhaps this "Friend of Truth" meant *Ishmael*, whose "hand will be against every

man, and every man's hand against him." Gen. xvi. 12. "But," he punningly concluded, "the Unitarians are verily like Esau, they have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage!"

Such, Sir, are the remarks which have been repeatedly made to me, a professed and decided friend to liberal sentiment, candour and Christian charity in speaking of our neighbours, respecting the communication in question; and I have no doubt that you will prove your superior liberality by giving them a place in the Mon. Rep. as a caution to others, and as a proof that you are not so bigoted and intolerant as to refuse insertion to any temperate observations which persons of different sentiments may make on the contents of your pages.

Another "Friend of Justice, Truth and Candour," and

A CATHOLIC CHRISTIAN.

Sir,

AS I presume it was never the intention of the projector of the Monthly Repository, nor the wish of the generality of its readers, that all its pages should be devoted to theological controversy and Scriptural criticism, however important these subjects may be in themselves, and necessary to the elucidation of a rational system of religion, I shall, if consistent with the plan of your work, commence a series of papers on a topic that is always interesting to young persons, and which may afford matter for useful and serious reflection to those further advanced in life, who, perhaps, may, from circumstances not necessary to be enumerated, have hitherto paid little or almost no attention to the wisdom and contrivance displayed in the works of the Almighty.

Those who are acquainted with the subject of Natural Theology will not expect originality, much less will they look for discovery. For persons of this class these papers are not intended: they hope to claim the attention and excite the interest of those readers only who would be glad to investigate the wonders of creation, without possessing the means of doing so.

It has been observed, that the great disadvantage of the subject is its ex-

treme simplicity, and the vast multiplicity of obvious and decisive evidences that may every where be found for its illustration. "The great book of the universe lies open to all mankind, and he who cannot read in it the name and the titles of its Author, will probably derive but little benefit from the labours of any commentator: their instructions may elucidate a few dark passages, and exalt our admiration of many that we already perceive to be beautiful; but the bulk of the volume is legible without assistance: and much as we may find out by study and meditation, it will still be as nothing in comparison with what is forced upon our apprehension."

No person accustomed to reason, or even but slightly reflect upon what he is every day the witness of, can possibly doubt that there are abundant marks of design in the universe: and any enumeration of the instances in which this design is manifest, appears at first sight unnecessary. It is however a fact that cannot be disputed, that *all* persons do not reason from nor reflect upon even the plainest marks of wisdom and benevolence exhibited in the creation. It is true that a single example might be as conclusive with regard to the contrivance manifested in the world as a thousand; and he who could not discover the most evident marks of wise design in the formation of an *eye* or an *ear*, did he perfectly understand the structure of these organs, would be deaf to any arguments offered to his mind to prove the existence of a wise, a benevolent and designing first cause.

The ancient sceptics had nothing to set up against a designing Deity, but the doctrine of Chance and the combination of a chaos of atoms in endless motion. The task of their opponents therefore was not at all difficult: they appealed at once to the order and symmetry that pervaded the whole of nature, and to the regularity and magnificence of the structure of the universe. The phenomena of the heavens, in particular, appear to have arrested their attention, and the magnitude and uniformity of the planetary motions afforded in their estimation, a sufficient proof not only of Divine power, but intelligence also.

To modern sceptics the exclamation of Dr. Beattie, from his Elements of Moral Science, may be fitly addressed:

"The man who should suppose a large city consisting of a thousand palaces, all finished in the minutest parts and furnished with the greatest elegance and variety of ornament, and with all sorts of books, pictures and statues executed in the most ingenious manner, to have been produced by the accidental blowing of winds and rolling of sands would justly be accounted irrational, but to suppose the universe, or our solar system, or this earth," or even the human frame, "to be a work of undesigning chance, is an absurdity incomparably greater."

Astronomy and anatomy are indeed the studies which present us with the most striking view of the two greatest attributes of the Supreme Being. The first of these fills the mind with the idea of his immensity, in the largeness, distances and number of the heavenly bodies, the last, which we mean to form the first part of our arrangement astonishes with the intelligence and art in the variety and delicacy of animal mechanism.

The human body has been represented under the name of "Microcosmus," as if it did not differ so much from the universal system of nature, in the symmetry and number of its parts, as in their size. Galen's excellent treatise on the use of those parts, entitled "De usu Partium Corporis humani;" and which was written in the second century of the Christian era, was composed as a sort of prose hymn to the Creator, and it abounds with the most irresistible proofs of a supreme cause and overruling providence: and Cicero, who flourished two centuries and a half prior to Galen dwells more on the structure and economy of animals, than on all the other productions of nature, when he wishes to demonstrate the existence of the Gods from the order and beauty of the universe. It is not, however, my intention to carry the reader back to the works of the ancients: among the moderns we have the subject amply and feelingly discussed, by persons who have considered the structure and functions of animals with direct reference to the display of the perfections of the Creator; such, in many instances has been the object of a Ray, a Derham, and a Paley, to whose volumes we shall have frequent occasion to recur, and of whose labours we shall, without

scruple, avail ourselves whenever the nature of our subject requires such aid.

No one, it might be readily imagined, if facts did not exist to contradict the theory, could understand and reflect upon the thousand evident proofs of the astonishing wisdom and design of the Creator in forming and sustaining an animal body such as ours, without feeling a pious and almost enthusiastic glow of gratitude toward its author and supporter.

"It has been said," says Dr. Paley, "that a man cannot lift his hand to his head without finding enough to convince him of the existence of a God: and it is well said, for he has only to reflect, familiar as the action is, and simple as it seems to be, how many things are requisite for the performing of it: how many things which we understand, to say nothing of many more, probably, which we do not; viz. first, a long, hard, strong cylinder to give to the arm its firmness and tension, but which being rigid, and in its substance inflexible, can only turn upon joints. Secondly, there are joints for this purpose, one at the shoulder to raise the arm, another at the elbow to bend it: these are continually fed with a soft mucilage, to make the parts slide easily upon one another, and they are held together by strong braces, to keep them in their position; then thirdly, strings and wires, i. e. muscles and tendons artificially inserted for the purpose of drawing the bones in the directions in which the joints allow them to move. Hitherto, we seem to understand the mechanism pretty well, and understanding this, we possess enough for our conclusion: nevertheless we have hitherto only a machine standing still: a dead organization—an apparatus. To put the system in a state of activity: to set it at work, a further provision is necessary, viz. a communication with the brain by means of nerves. We know the existence of this communication, because we can see the communicating threads, and can trace them to the brain: its necessity we all know, because if the thread be cut, if the communication be intercepted, the muscle becomes paralytic: but beyond this we know little; the organization being too minute and subtle for our inspection.

"To what has been enumerated, as officiating in the single act of a man's raising his hand to his head, must be added likewise all that is necessary, and all that contributes to the growth, nourishment and sustentation of the limb; the repair of its waste, the preservation of its health: such as the circulation of the blood through every part of it: its lymphatics, exhalants, absorbents: its excretions and integuments. All these share in the result; join in the effect; and how all these, or any of them come together without a designing, disposing intelligence, it is impossible to conceive."

But our more immediate object is with the five senses which are common to all animals, viz. *seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting* and *feeling*, and the organs which minister to these senses, together with the exact accommodation of those senses, and their organs, to the state and make of the different genera of animals. The consideration of these particulars, if there were no other demonstrations of the existence of a Supreme Being, would be abundantly sufficient to evince the wisdom, power and goodness of the Creator. For suppose the existence of an animal endowed with the powers of moving from place to place; to what purpose would those powers be applied without the advantage of *sight*. He could not stir a step, nor move a single limb without the apprehension and risk of danger. As without sight he could not tell where to find, or how to obtain the food necessary for his sustenance; so without the senses of *smell* and *taste*, he could not distinguish the substances that are, and are not adapted for his nourishment, and discern between the wholesome and unwholesome. How, without the sense of *hearing* could he discern many dangers that are at a distance, understand the mind of others and perceive the harmonious sounds of music. Finally, without the sense of *feeling* how could man or other animals distinguish pleasure from pain, health from sickness, and of course be able to preserve the body sound and healthful. In the senses, therefore, which are common to all animals, we have such a display of the wisdom and benevolence of a Creator, as may challenge our admiration, which will be rendered much more striking when we come

to particulars, and point out in a clear and distinct manner the provisions which have been made for the due exercise of each of them.

If, Sir, you judge the foregoing observations worthy a place in the Monthly Repository, I will in the following number give some account of the eye as the organ of vision, and am,

Your sincere well-wisher,

Y.

Book-Worm. No. XVII.

Sir,
Jan. 1, 1815.

A WORK upon whatever subject could scarcely fail to attract curiosity, if written in our language by a foreigner who had become a classic in his own. Such is the following publication :

"An Essay upon the Civil Wars of France, extracted from curious manuscripts, and also upon the Epic Poetry of the European Nations from Homer down to Milton. By M. de Voltaire, Author of the *Henriade*. The Second Edition, corrected by himself. London: printed for N. Prevost and Comp. at the Ship, over against Southampton-Street, in the Strand. 1728. Price, stitched, 1s. 6d." Pp. 130.

It is well known from the biographies of Voltaire that he came into this country in 1726, at the age of thirty-two, for the purpose of publishing in its finished form his celebrated Epic, parts of which had been printed at London in 1723, under the title of *The League*; and it cannot fail to be related in future histories of poetry as a curious coincidence that the *Henriade* and *Charlemagne* both made their first appearance from the English press. According to memoirs attributed to Voltaire, and translated in the Annual Register for 1777, (p. 34) "George the First, and more particularly the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen of England, raised an immense subscription for him." The king died at Osnaburg, in 1727, during Voltaire's stay in England. To the young Queen he presented the *Henriade*, with an English dedication which is prefixed to the Poem in his works (x. 19). The author also testified his gratitude for English patronage by introducing in his first canto a panegyric on our threefold form of government, concluding with

these lines, to which I subjoin a literal translation.

*Heureux lorsque le peuple, instruit dans son devoir,
Respecte, autant qu'il doit, le souverain pouvoir !*

*Plus heureux lorsqu'un roi, doux, juste et politique,
Respecte, autant qu'il doit, la liberté publique.*

Happy the people, to their duties true,
That pay the sovereign power allegiance
due;

Happier if just, wise, good, a King de-
clare

The public liberty, his dutious care.

It is not very creditable to the literary research of Voltaire's French or English Biographers, that none of them mention this Essay, though it is incidentally noticed by Ruffhead, in his *Life of Pope*, 1769, on introducing a short English letter from Voltaire to the Bard of Twickenham, whom he compliments for having "dressed Homer so becomingly in an English coat." Mr. Hayley also quotes the Essay in his *Milton*, 2d Ed. p. 248, as "a work which, though written under such disadvantage, possesses the peculiar vivacity of this extraordinary writer, and is indeed so curious a specimen of his versatile talents, that it ought to have found a place in that signal monument to the name of Voltaire, the edition of his works in ninety-two volumes." The following is the author's own account :

"Advertisement to the Reader.

"It has the appearance of too great a presumption in a traveller, who hath been but eighteen months in *England*, to attempt to write in a language, which he cannot pronounce at all, and which he hardly understands in conversation. But I have done what we do every day at school, where we write *Latin* and *Greek*, though surely we pronounce them both very pitifully, and should understand neither of them if they were uttered to us with the right *Roman* or *Greek* pronunciation. I look upon the *English* language as a learned one, which deserves to be the object of our application in *France*, as the *French* tongue is thought a kind of accomplishment in *England*.

"As to this present Essay, it is intended as a kind of Preface or Introduction to the *Henriade*, which is al-

most entirely printed, nothing being wanting but the printing of the cuts, which I must recommend here as particular master-pieces of art in their kind: 'tis the only beauty in the book that I can answer for."

It is worthy of remark, that Voltaire valued and retained till his death, a ready use of the English language, though the accomplished Mrs. Montague, in her *Essay*, 1769 (p. 214) charged him, not very correctly, with having "depended entirely on the assistance of a Dictionary," to translate *Shakespeare*. Voltaire's inclination to the English language, and ready use of it, he discovered on being introduced to Franklin, who in 1778, was ambassador at Paris, from the United States. The anecdote is thus related in An. Reg. 1778. p. 2.

"Having a great desire to be acquainted with Dr. Franklin, this celebrated American was introduced to him. Voltaire accosted and conversed with him some time in English, till Madam Denis [his niece] interrupted him by saying, that Dr. Franklin understood French, and the rest of the company wished to know the subject of their discourse. 'Excuse me, my dear,' replied Voltaire, 'I have the vanity to shew, that I am not unacquainted with the language of a Franklin.'

In the first part of this publication, "The History of the Civil Wars of France;" there are more passages worthy of being quoted than I can crowd into this paper. I will select a few as they occur. Of Henry's childhood, Voltaire remarks, "He was not brought up like a prince in that effeminate pride which enervates the body, weakens the understanding and hardens the heart. His food was coarse, his clothes plain; he went always bare-headed, was sent to school with the young companions of his age, climbed up with them among rocks and woods to the tops of the neighbouring mountains, according to the custom of that country and of those times. He was thus bred up with his subjects in a sort of equality, without which a prince is too apt to forget he is born a man." Pp. 3, 4.

"*Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland,*" is described as one "whom her beauty and weakness led into great faults, greater miseries, and at last to a dreadful death." She is said to have go-

verned entirely her young husband *Francis*, a boy of eighteen, without vice and without virtue, born with an infirm body and a weak mind." P. 5.

Of the French Protestants Voltaire says, "The superstition, the dull, ignorant knavery of the Monks, the over-grown power of Rome, men's passion for novelty, the ambition of Luther and Calvin, the policy of many princes; all these had given rise and countenance to this sect, free indeed from superstition, but running as headlong towards anarchy as the Church of Rome towards tyranny." He adds, that "the Protestants had been unmercifully persecuted in France;" yet as "the ordinary effect of persecution," that "their sect increased every day, amidst the scaffolds and tortures. *Conde, Coligny*, all their adherents, all who were oppressed by the *Guises* turned Protestants at once; they united their griefs, their vengeance and their interests." P. 7.

Amidst the horrid details of the massacre "on the eve of St. Bartholomew, in the month of August, 1572," we are told that "some priests holding up a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, ran at the head of the murderers and encouraged them in the name of God to spare neither relations nor friends," while *Tavannes, Mareshall of France*, an ignorant and superstitious soldier, who joined the fury of religion to the rage of party, rid a-horseback through Paris, crying to his soldiers, *Let blood, let blood, bleeding is wholesome in the month of August as well as in May.*" Charles IXth "fired with a carbine upon those miserable victims who fled to the river," while his mother "*Catherine de Medicis*, undisturbed and serene in the midst of the slaughter, looked down from a balcony situated towards the city, encouraged the assassins and laughed at the dying groans of the murdered." Pp. 15, 16.

Voltaire asserts, that "in a week's time, more than a hundred thousand Protestants were massacred all over the kingdom," as "two or three governors only refused to comply with the king's orders." One of these he justly applauds, *Montmorin, Governor of Auvergne*, who "wrote to the king the following letter:

"SIR,

"I have received an order, under your majesty's seal, to put to death all

the Protestants in my province. I have too much respect for your Majesty not to believe the letter is counterfeited; but if (what God forbid the order is truly yours, I have too much respect for your Majesty to obey it.)

The States-General of France have been often mentioned during the late eventful years. On their being convened by Henry III. Voltaire thus describes them. "These States resemble the Parliament of Great Britain, in their convocation, but are very different from it in their operations. As they are very seldom called, they have no rules to guide them; they are generally made up of men who never having been in any regular meeting, know not how to behave themselves, and 'tis rather a confusion than an assembly." P. 23.

Speaking of the assassinations of the *Guises*, he says that "such a vengeance" should have "been perpetrated with the formalities of the law, which are the natural instruments of the justice of kings, or the natural veil to their iniquity." P. 25.

On Henry's besieging Paris in 1590, we are presented with the following passages, blending the ludicrous with the horrible. "The friars and the monks made a show, which, as ridiculous as it was in itself, was yet of great use to animate the people. They made a kind of military muster, marching in rank and files, wearing rusty armour over their coats, having at their head the figure of the virgin *Mary*, wielding swords in their hands, and crying they were all ready to fight and to die in the defence of the Faith. So that the citizens, who saw their Confessors in arms, thought really that they fought the cause of God."

"However, scarcity occasioned soon an universal famine. That prodigious multitude of citizens had no other support but the sermons of their priests, and the fictitious miracles of friars, who, by the way, had all things in plenty in their Convents, while all the town was reduced to starve. The miserable *Parisians*, lulled at first by the hopes of being soon relieved, were singing ballads in the streets, and lampoons against *Henry*, a fact not to be related with probability of any other nation, but suitable enough to the genius of the *French*, even in so desolate a condition. That short-lived wretched mirth was stopped quickly

by the most serious and the most inexpressible misery. Thirty thousand men died of hunger in a month's time. The poor starved citizens tried to make a sort of bread with the bones of the dead, which being bruised and boiled were reduced to a kind of jelly. But such an unnatural food afforded them no other kind of benefit than to kill them the sooner. It is recorded and confirmed by all the testimonies that can be credible, that a woman killed and fed on her own child." P. 33.

Sully passes "slightly over the horrors of this siege," declining to "enlarge on so dreadful a subject." *Perefixe*, writing in 1662, is very short, yet, he says "the famine was so great that the people eat even the herbs that grew in the ditches; dogs, cats, and hides of leather were food; and some have reported, that the *Lansquenets*, or foot-soldiers, fed upon such children as they could entrap." 2d. Ed. 1692, p. 124.

Voltaire records how "Henry's good nature prevailed over his interest," so "that the besiegers fed the besieged," for "he suffered his soldiers to sell privately all sorts of provisions to the town." Thus time was afforded to the Prince of Parma, with an army of Spaniards from the Low Countries, to raise the siege. At length Henry resolved to turn Roman-Catholic—*Paris* opened its gates to him, and what his valour and magnanimity could never bring about, was easily obtained by going to Mass, and by receiving absolution from the Pope." P. 35.

In the works of Voltaire this *History* is condensed, with the omission of most of the passages I have quoted, into a few pages, entitled, *Histoire Abregée des Evenemens, &c.* The *Essay on Epic Poetry* shall employ the next number.

VERMICULUS.

GLEANINGS; OR, SELECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS MADE IN A COURSE OF GENERAL READING.

No. CIII.

Shakespeare's Macbeth.

Act I. Scene v. Lady Macbeth, after reading her Lord's letter, informing her of his interview with the Weird Sisters, who had saluted him with, *Hail, King that shall be!*—says,

Hie thee hither,
That I may pour my spirits in thine ear;
And chastise with the valour of my tongue
All that impedes thee from the golden round
Which fate and metaphysical aid doth seem
To have thee crown'd withal.—

Here *metaphysical* is used in the sense of *supernatural, infernal*. Some good folks seem inclined to keep up the latter sense of the word.

Act III. Sc. i. Macbeth egging on the murderers to execute his design upon Banquo's life, representing

That it was he, in the times past, which [held you

So under fortune,—
asks,

Do you find
Your patience so predominant in your na- [ture,
That you can let this go? Are you so

gospell'd,
To pray for this good man and for his issue,
Whose heavy hand hath bow'd you to the [grave

And beggar'd your's for ever?

On the phrase, Are you so *gospell'd?* Johnson has the following comment; "Are you of that degree of precise virtue? *Gospeller* was a name of contempt given by the Papists to the Lollards, the Puritans of early times, and the precursors of *Protestantism*."

The question then, in modern phrase, would be, "Are you such *Methodists*?"

Act IV. Sc. i. One of the ingredients in the Witches' Caldron is

Liver of blaspheming Jew.

This shews the brutal bigotry of the poet's times, with regard to the unhappy nation of the Jews. But ought a modern audience to suffer this outrage against Christianity, against human nature, to be repeated?

No. CCIV.

Religious Habits.

Before the Reformation many of the learned and great who could not put on *religious habits* during their lives, ordered by will that they should be interred in the *habits of the religious*. Amongst others, Francis II. Marquis of Mantua, who died in 1519, Petrarch in 1374, and the Duke of Parma in 1592, turned monks after they were dead.

The whole tribe of these superstitious religionists, Milton (P. L. III. 474, &c.) has placed in his *Limbo of Vanity*.

Embryos and idiots, eremites and friars
White, black and grey, with all their

[trumpery.
Here pilgrims roam, that stray'd so far to

[seek
In Golgotha him dead, who lives in heaven;
And they who to be sure of Paradise
Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciscan think to pass disguis'd.

This calls to mind a story of Jortin's. A certain Prince who had led a very wicked life, was carried to his grave in the humble disguise of a monk. A woman whose husband he had murdered, seeing the masquerade go by, cried to him, Ah! you dog! you think that you are finely concealed under that habit: but Jesus Christ will find you out.

CCV.

Clergy.—Divine Embassadors.

A certain Indian of the train of the Ambassador-Princes sent to us lately from some of those Pagan nations, being engaged, one Sunday, in visiting our churches, and happening to ask his interpreter "who the eminent persons were whom he observed haranguing so long with such authority, from a high place?" was answered, "they are Embassadors from the Almighty," or (according to the Indian language) from the Sun! Whether the Indian took this seriously or in raillery, did not appear. But having afterwards called in, as he went along, at the chapels of some of his brother-embassadors of the Romish religion, and at some other Christian Dissenting congregations, where matters, as he perceived, were transacted with greater privacy and inferior state; he asked, "whether these also were embassadors from the same place?" He was answered, "that they had indeed been heretofore of the embassy, and had possession of the same chief places he had seen: but that they were now succeeded there by others." "If those, therefore (replied the Indian) were embassadors from the Sun; these, I take for granted, are from the Moon."

Characteristics, Vol. III. pp. 338, 339.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

A Dissertation upon the Number of the Hebrew People at different Periods : from the unpublished Manuscripts of the Rev. Samuel Bourn, of Birmingham.

THE number of Hebrews who emigrated from Egypt is said (Exodus xii. 37,) to be "about six hundred thousand men on foot beside children." In the book of numbers (ch. ii. 32.) we find a second and more particular account taken in the wilderness of Sinai, in the second month of the second year after their departure; where the "males twenty years old and upward, all who were able to go out to war," are said to amount to "six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty," exclusive of the tribe of Levi, which consisted of "seven thousand and five hundred males from a month old and upward." In a third numeration (chap. xxvi. 51. of the same book) we find them to be "six hundred and one thousand, seven hundred and thirty," and the tribe of Levi to be increased to "twenty three thousand, all males of a month old and upward." Taking the number of the males then of twenty years old and upward at six hundred thousand, and adding all the males under twenty years, together with all the females of every age, in the proportion of three to one, the whole nation must consist of two million four hundred thousand souls, according to the first and lowest account, without including the mixed multitude, mostly Egyptians, as we may reasonably suppose, which is said to have accompanied them. We may compute the number then upon an average of the accounts above, including the strangers, at two millions and a half.

Now let it not give offence or alarm to any pious reader, if he shall find it clearly proved, that the preceding numerations, and many other contained in the historical parts of the Old Testament, are exceedingly magnified. For those are errors which may be most naturally imputed to the negligence or vanity of the transcriber of copies. Numbers are denoted in Hebrew by the letters, and it might easily happen that the transcriber mistook one letter for another; or if he was doubtful, that he would be inclined to prefer that number

which seemed to do honour to his nation, by displaying its ancient greatness. The following arguments may probably suffice to satisfy the inquisitive Reader.

I. There is a passage in Exodus (xii. 40,) which has been mistaken, as if it asserted the residence of the Hebrews in Egypt, to have lasted "four hundred and thirty years," wheras it includes the whole time from Abraham's removal from Chaldea into Canaan, till the departure of the Israelites from Egypt; during which long period neither he, nor his descendants by his Grandson Jacob, were ever settled in a country or land, which they might call their own; and therefore the whole is stiled the sojourning of that people. This period of time is properly divided into two equal parts, the first preceding, and the latter following, the descent of Jacob and his family into Egypt. This construction is supported by the authority of St. Paul, Gal. iii. 17. At his descent his whole family, it is said, consisted of "seventy souls;" and it is added, "that they were fruitful, and increased abundantly and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them." Let us examine what the number might probably be at their departure, according to the natural increase of mankind. The greatest multiplication we are informed of, from proper evidence, hath been in the temperate climates of North America; in some parts of which, according to accounts received from thence, the number of inhabitants hath been doubled in the short space of twenty-five years by births only. This increase hath been thought surprisingly great, and imputable to their rural situations and employments, or their freedom from large cities and unhealthy occupations; both which are known to be great checks to the multiplication of the human species. Allowing then, the Hebrews to multiply in the same proportion during the whole time of their dwelling in Egypt, which was two hundred and fifteen years, the account will be this: the whole number of souls at the descent of Jacob and his family into Egypt, we are informed by the text, was

seventy. At the end of the first period of twenty-five years it would be one hundred and forty; of the second, two hundred and eighty; of the third, five hundred and sixty; of the fourth, one thousand one hundred and twenty; of the fifth, two thousand two hundred and forty; of the sixth, four thousand four hundred and eighty; of the seventh, eight thousand nine hundred and sixty; of the eighth, seventeen thousand nine hundred and twenty; and if we add the ninth, which reaches to ten years after their departure, thirty five thousand eight hundred and forty. No deduction is made in this computation for the slavery to which they were subject, and the destruction of their male children during almost half the time; beside the evil diseases of Egypt, which are mentioned by Moses.* But to this number, the multiplication of Joseph's family which are not included in the seventy, ought to be added, which would raise the number by the same proportion a twelfth part; that is to thirty eight thousand nine hundred and fifty-five: "and the mixed multitude," which is said to accompany them might probably make the whole number in the Wilderness of Sinai, to amount to upwards of forty thousand. If then we allow this number to be doubled during the last thirty years before the invasion and conquest of Canaan, the number will not much exceed at that period eighty thousand: among them there might be twenty thousand men, fit to bear arms: a number sufficient, under the command of Joshua, an able and experienced general, to conquer in five years, the small states or principalities with which he had to contend singly, and even the confederacies formed against him; but too weak after his decease, when the tribes were disunited, to extend their conquests much farther; as appears from the history. For they soon became so weak as to suffer extremely by the incursions of their neighbours, some of whom they had before defeated.

II. However favourable and liberal the King, who then reigned in Egypt, might be to Jacob and his family, when by Joseph's influence they came to settle in the country; it is

very improbable, that he would assign to them a tract of country, so vastly exceeding their immediate use and occupation, as would be sufficient to maintain afterward such an incredible number of people. Goshen which they inhabited, was a province probably very small compared to all Egypt.

III. It is not easy to conceive how the Egyptians could oppress the Israelites, to such a degree of rigour and cruelty, or how the latter would submit to it without making any resistance, unless their respective numbers and strength had been exceedingly unequal. It appears from the history, that after Egypt had been almost ruined, by various plagues and devastations, and above all by the destruction of all the first-born of man and beast, throughout the kingdom, yet the king was able to pursue them with such an army as struck them with extreme terror. The saying therefore of Pharaoh to his courtiers, "Behold, they are more and mightier than we," must be understood as an extravagant expression of his fears, or rather, as a mere pretence for reducing them to slavery, and practising such severities upon them.

IV. There are several circumstances related during their journeying and residing in the Arabian Deserts, which indicate their number to have been comparatively small; such as these. They journeyed three days in a hot climate without a fresh supply of water. Twelve wells at Elim, one stream from the rock at Horeb, and one at Meribah were sufficient for them and their cattle. No other miraculous supply is ever mentioned, nor any murmuring for want of it. They are described (Num. xxxiii.) as pitching upon a single mountain, named Shapher, and other particular places, of too small extent to be capable of containing a number of people much above the preceding computation. Moses was able to judge and determine in person all suits and contests among them, till by his father-in-law Jethro's advice, he instituted inferior magistrates. The first engagement they had, was with the Amalekites, a petty tribe or horde, yet the victory remained dubious for a considerable time. To say nothing of the impossibility of sustaining so prodigious a multitude for forty

* Dent. vii. 15.

years, in a country for the most part barren; these circumstances seem not to admit a number much greater, if at all, than that, which is specified in the preceding calculation. To all these circumstances we may add the words of Moses himself, as attesting the comparative smallness of their number, Deut. vii. 7. "The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor chuse you, because you were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all people." And though he reckons them, (Chap. x. 22.) "as the stars of heaven for multitude", compared to the original number "seventy, when their fathers went down into Egypt;" yet he describes the nations whom they were preparing to attack (Chap. ix. 1.) as "greater and mightier than they," and exhorts them, (Chap. vii. 17, 18.) not to be terrified on account of their number and power.

V. Their passing the Red Sea with their flocks, herds and carriages, in one night, as is represented, or in a day and night, seems impossible, supposing them to be so very numerous. But if we reduce the number, according to the calculation above-mentioned, a probable solution may be given of any great difficulty which may seem to remain. For some modern travellers, who have investigated those parts, report that there is a bay lying northward of the Red Sea, which hath a communication with it; that there is notwithstanding a passage, commonly fordable, and sometimes quite dry; and that now people frequently pass that way to and fro, between Egypt and Arabia. This they suppose to have been the very place where the Israelites made their passage. It is said in the scripture that "a strong wind blew" previous to their passage, which would necessarily cause an extraordinary recess of the tide. If then, Moses took the earliest opportunity, as he undoubtedly would, of sending the carriages and cattle before him, on the day, or some days preceding, forty thousand people might pass afterward on dry ground in less than one night, the passage being scarcely one mile: and when the wind ceased, a high tide might return with such force, as to overthrow the pursuing army so effectually, that in the morning the Hebrews on the other

side could discover nothing of them, but dead bodies thrown upon the shore. This account is adopted by a very able and learned critic, Le Clerc. The expressions used in scripture are not to be thought violent figures of speech, at least in poetry; though it is said "the people passed through the midst of the sea," and that "the waters were as a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left." For as they certainly made their passage with great expedition, so the sea on one hand, and the bay on the other, would check the pursuit of the enemy and guard them from being surrounded, as effectually as walls. This explanation does not contradict, as some may hastily imagine, a particular or miraculous protection of heaven over that people in that event, but serves to shew, what is most credible, that a power from heaven always operates so far and no farther than the necessity or reason of the case requires. To what purpose is there any mention of "a strong wind blowing all day and night which caused the sea to go back," implying as plain as words can express, a recess of the tide; but which means nothing, if an immense gap was made in the middle of the sea, by a stroke of divine power. Was not that very wind, blowing so strong at that juncture, a sufficient and therefore more reasonable and credible interposition of providence in their favour, than the other case supposed? Or is the poetical language used in describing that wonderful and truly miraculous event, more liable to censure according to this explanation, than the phrases used when nothing miraculous appears necessary or credible; such as the "sun and moon standing still in the heaven," to denote a long day of pursuit; or the "stars fighting in their courses" against the enemy, to express a signal and surprising defeat of them? It seems not improbable, that as soon as the Hebrews had passed and the Egyptians were advanced into the midst of the channel, the wind changed its course and brought back the tide with a redoubled swell and violence; while the heavy chariots and horses of which the Egyptian army consisted, were obstructed and almost set fast, by sinking into a soft bottom; though travellers on

foot might pass safely over it. This conjecture is founded on the expressions in Exodus xiv. 24, 25, "In the morning-watch, the Lord looked into the host of the Egyptians, and troubled it, and took off the chariot wheels, and made them to go heavily;" and, Ch. xv. 10, "Thou didst blow with thy wind; the sea covered them. They sunk as lead in the mighty waters." This latter wind which brought the sea upon the Egyptians must be different from that which drove the sea back from the Hebrews; and as the first is said to rise at the motion of the "arm and rod of Moses," on one side of the passage; the other followed from the like motion, when Moses was on the other side. The Egyptians might be well acquainted with the passage, and with the usual ebbing and flowing of the sea at that place, yet have no conception of so unusual, and indeed miraculous, con spiration of the winds at that juncture, to favour the passage of the Israelites, and obstruct their own pursuit, in a manner so singular and destructive. It is readily acknowledged that the expressions in scripture describing that wonderful event, may appear to many readers as implying something greater and more astonishing than is consistent with the preceding account. But if this be admitted, we are still under a necessity, either of allowing at the same time a very great reduction of the number mentioned, or of supposing a second miracle wrought, to enable so vast a multitude with their flocks, herds, &c. to pass in so short a time. But this would be weakening instead of supporting the credit of one miracle, by adding another to it, unnecessary, unwarranted by the scripture narration, and therefore not credible. If the reader will grant only that the expression of the "water being a wall unto them, on the right hand and on the left," is poetical or figurative, and means no more than the protection, which the sea on one hand and the bay on the other afforded them, the above representation corresponds exactly with the original narration.

VI. All the territories which they conquered and got possession of, during the lives of Moses and Joshua, on both sides of the river Jordan, were very far from being of an extent suffi-

cient for the habitation and maintenance of so prodigious a number of people. After the death of Joshua, though some of the tribes made some little conquests, the rest made none, and all lived intermixed with the very people or nations, whom they had in part subdued; and whose territories they had possessed; viz. the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perrizites, Hivites and Jebusites, with whom they intermarried and by whom they were seduced to idolatry. They were also surrounded and hemmed in by the Hivites on the north, by the Sidonians, Tyrians and Philistines on the west, and by the Amorites, Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites and Edomites on the south-east and south; who made frequent and successful incursions upon them. Even the Canaanites, with whom they were partly intermixed, became so powerful as to subdue them, and hold the whole nation in a state of great oppression for twenty years. They could possess therefore, or inhabit at that time, but a small part of all the territories comprehended afterward in the kingdom of David and of Solomon, who not only completed their conquest over the nations with whom the Israelites were partly intermixed, but extended their dominion largely on every side. In the reigns of those kings there still remained a great number of strangers scattered among them; for the laws frequently and expressly referred to the strangers within their gates. These were commonly domestic servants or field-labourers, or like the "Gibeonites, hewers of wood and drawers of water;" though some are mentioned as promoted by David, and serving him with honour and fidelity; as for instance, Uriah the Hittite. Solomon, in his book of Proverbs, warns the young men of the nation against having any commerce with the women strangers, whom he describes as subtle, treacherous and rapacious, as well as lewd, which might be their true general character, as the descendants of those who had, in former times, corrupted the Israelites and seduced them to idolatry. What number of strangers might remain intermixed with the Hebrews in Solomon's time is uncertain; but probably it was very considerable. We find it said, 1 Kings ix. 20, "All the people that were left

of the Amorites, Perrizites, Hittites, Hivites, and Jebusites which were not of the children of Israel; their children which were left after them in the land whom the children of Israel also were not able utterly to destroy; upon those did Solomon levy a tribute of bond service unto this day."

Now if we examine the maps of that part of the earth, we shall find that the whole country inhabited wholly or chiefly by the Hebrews, is not more than two hundred miles in length, and scarcely one hundred in breadth, measuring to the utmost extent from north to south, and east to west, including the parts which were or had been in the possession of the Sidonians, Tyrians, Philistines: And if we consider that the Hebrews were not a commercial people, but subsisted wholly or chiefly by agriculture, we cannot suppose the country was ever very populous. Comparing it then to any tract of country in Europe of equal extent, in which there are few manufactures, and little or no commerce; we cannot reasonably suppose that it ever contained more than two millions of inhabitants.*

If we may depend upon the numbers of years, specified in the book of Judges (which may also be magnified), the first of which commences many years after the death of Joshua, there was a period of above four hundred years between his death and the time of Samuel the prophet; of which more than one hundred was spent at different times in a state of oppression and servitude, in consequence of several great conquests; the remainder in rest and peace, consequent to victories; during the former parts of the time we cannot reasonably allow any increase or multiplication, but should rather suppose a diminution, by the numbers slain in battle, and the severity of oppression, from the wars of Joshua and those after his decease,

especially the intestine wars, and above all, that in which the whole tribe of Benjamin was utterly destroyed excepting six hundred men; we may infer, almost with certainty, a great diminution of the nation at large. Supposing then the whole number at the conclusion of the war against Benjamin, to be sixty thousand, and that number to be continually doubled in a period of fifty years spent in peace, it would amount in two hundred and fifty years to one million nine hundred and twenty thousand. Allowing also a second diminution by the wars, the bloody defeats, and severe oppressions, in the time of Samuel and Saul, the civil war for seven years between the house of Saul and David, and the many wars, though they were successful, carried on by David; the whole number, at the commencement of Solomon's reign, cannot be reasonably estimated at much more than two millions, if at so much; especially if we consider that the more numerous any nation becomes, the multiplication proceeds the slower from various causes, which might easily be assigned; and that the increase here admitted, exceeds that of any nation now existing in Europe, even in the most peaceable and healthful times, none of which are ever supposed to become double the number, in a period of fifty years.

It is by no means pretended that the preceding calculations have any certainty or exactness in them, as to the real multiplication of mankind, in any instance, but they may answer the purpose which the author intended, namely, to prove beyond all reasonable contradiction, that the numbers specified in the Old Testament of nations, tribes, armies and men slain in battle are generally magnified, to a surprising excess. In what proportion they are magnified, it may be impossible to determine with precision; but by probable conjecture, not much less than ten to one in most instances, and in some vastly more. The number which migrated from Egypt is reduced by the preceding calculation more than forty to one. If the number of the Benjamite forces be reduced from ten to one there will remain two thousand three hundred and seventy; out of which number, if no more than six

* Switzerland, is the country in Europe which seems to bear the greatest resemblance to that of the ancient Hebrews, as it is an inland mountainous country, in which the people subsist almost wholly by agriculture, as it is almost equal in extent and number of inhabitants; and as it is divided into several cantons which have each a separate jurisdiction. But along with liberty, it is blessed with a policy, union and strength of national government, such as the Hebrews unhappily wanted.

hundred escaped in the battle, it was certainly a bloody engagement: and it shocks imagination, as well as reason, to conceive that no more should escape out of twenty-six thousand and seven hundred. If we divide in the same proportion the four hundred thousand men of the other tribes, there will remain forty thousand which may still be thought a number exceeding probability; and though twelve thousand are said to be detached to surprise and destroy the small defenceless town of Jabesh Gilead, twelve hundred would certainly have been sufficient for the purpose. When Rehoboam is said to raise an army of one hundred and eighty thousand chosen men, out of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin; (Kings xii. 21), if we reduce them by ten, the remaining eighteen thousand seems to be a much more probable number. In the second book of Chronicles, ch. xvi. there is a far more extravagant account, which is, that Abijah, son and successor to Rehoboam, raised an army consisting of four hundred thousand chosen men, out of the same two tribes; and Jeroboam, King of Israel, an army of eight hundred thousand chosen men, out of the other ten tribes; and that five hundred thousand of the latter army were slain in the engagement.* This account is

added only to convince the reader that the transcribers of copies set no bounds to their vanity in magnifying the number, and consequently power and grandeur, of their nation.

To add an instance or two more in which the numbers appear to be exceedingly magnified. It is said in our Version, 1 Sam. vi. 19. that "Fifty thousand and threescore and ten men" were punished with death for the crime of "looking into the ark of the Lord." But beside the improbability of the country supplying so great a multitude to visit the ark, or of a tenth part of such a number getting near enough to look into it, the authors of the Arabic and Syriac Version seem to have read in their Hebrew manuscripts no more than five thousand. Josephus reduces them to seventy only; and the learned Dr. Kennicott has lately informed the public that he found the number to be no more than seventy, in two ancient manuscripts which he collated. In Ex. xxxii. 28. it is related that the armed Levites by the command of Moses "slew about three thousand men" of those who worshipped the golden calf, and who were celebrating a religious festival on the occasion. The number here cited from our English Version is agreeable to Hebrew manuscripts, and several ancient versions; yet in some copies of the Septuagint and the Vulgate, we find twenty-three thousand, and in some thirty-three thousand. These are instances of an aptness in translators or transcribers to make arithmetical mistakes, which are always found to be of a magnifying kind. It is a very probable conjecture, though ever so destitute of support either from manuscripts or versions, that the number also of "thirty-two thousand young female captives, of six hundred seventy-five thousand sheep, seventy-two thousand heads of cattle, and sixty-one thousand asses," said to be taken from the Midianites, (Num. xxxi.) are great-

* The following note was found in the MS. by another hand. Ed.
The proportion of men from each tribe, who, according to the same author, attended David at Hebron, to support his election to the whole kingdom, and were with him three days eating and drinking, is as follows : 1 Chron. xii.
Men of Judah 6800
Simeon 7100
Levi 4600
Benjamin 3000
half tribes { Ephraim 20800
{ Manasseh 18000
Issachar, 200 chiefs, the rest unnumbered.
Zebulon, perfectly arm- ed and trained 50000
Naphthali 37000
Dan 28600
Asher 40000
On the other side of Jordan { Reuben Gad { 120000
{ Manasseh repeated
335900

Let the reader compare this list of numbers, and the sum total, with those mentioned above. Let him also consider that these three hundred thousand men in arms, (not to mention the odd thousands) are all said to have feasted with David at Hebron for three days successively, and then let him judge what credit is due to the accounts of numbers which we meet in several passages of the Hebrew history.

ly magnified. This may be inferred, with some appearance of reason, from the mountainous nature, barren soil, and narrow extent of the country of Midian; though the ingenious and learned authors of the Jewish Letters to Voltaire, have laboured to remove this objection with much strength, excepting the weakness of comparing that poor rocky country, to the rich and level soil of the Campania of Rome. But the chief argument is to be drawn from the 48th and 49th verses of the same chapter, in which it is said that the Hebrew forces consisted of twelve thousand men (supposing then this number not magnified) returning from the conquest and plunder of Midian without the loss of one man. Yet the country is described as containing some towns, and even castles, which were taken and destroyed. The Midianites must therefore have been able to make but a very weak resistance, or rather none at all; consequently must be inferior in number and substance to the preceding magnified account.

SIR,

That the authority or power exercised by our Saviour was a given, a received power from his Father and our Father, his God and our God, is, I am firmly persuaded, a truth which can be discredited only by impeaching the credibility of his own repeated and unvarying asseverations, and can therefore scarcely be permitted to rank, with scriptural Christians, amongst the topics of theological controversy. But, with regard to *his own construction of the particular title which he was pleased to assume*, the following contrast may not perhaps have so forcibly struck some of them as it always does your correspondent. When the chief priests challenged him, "Art thou then the Son of God?" he replied, as categorically, "Ye say that I am." When they that were in the ship worshipped him, i. e. did him homage under that appellation, he does not appear to have evaded or rebuked so proper a mark of their re-

spect. When the devils fell down before him with a like salutation, he charged them only not to make him known. To Martha's memorable confession of her faith (would it had been universally deemed as exemplary!) his silence gives implied assent. And Peter's received from him a similar testimony of approbation. But mark now the difference, when the Jews with that propensity to misunderstand his meaning, so familiar on all occasions to those advocates for another kind of Messiah than he seemed likely to prove, charged him *also* in so many words, with "making himself equal with GOD," by assuming the appellation of his Son: --- "Is it not written in your law, I said, Ye are GOD (Elohim). If he called them GOD, unto whom the word of GOD came," &c. Conscious of being GOD the Son, could he at such a moment have made such a reply? Is there any point, any applicableness in the retort, but upon the admission, the open avowal that he considered himself man, man only, man as they were men, to whom the word of GOD came? If this be not to disclaim divinity in point of nature, what could have been? Can more unequivocal interpretation be given to the import of the title, Son of GOD, on the ground on which he presumed to adopt it? Against such unambiguous evidence, would the hypothesis of an apostle, if such could be found, weigh one feather in the scale?

Yours,

TE TACE.

Illustrations of Scripture.

[From an interleaved Bible.]

Heb. ii. 17. "*It behoved him to be made like unto his brethren*," i. e. it was fit and right, the obligation not pressing on Christ, but being spoken of absolutely. In exactly the same way, Cæsar in his *Commentaries*, § 3. *Dannatum pœnam sequi oportebat*, ut igni cremaretur, viz. It *behoved* him, being condemned, to be punished, by being burned.

REVIEW.

" Still pleas'd to praise, yet not afraid to blame."---POPE.

Art. I.—*The Book of Job, literally translated from the original Hebrew, and restored to its natural Arrangement:* with Notes critical and illustrative; and an introductory Dissertation on its Scene, Scope, Language, Author and Object. By John Mason Good, F. R. S. Mem. Am. Phil. Soc. and F. L. S. of Philadelphia. London: Black, Parry and Co. 1812, 8vo. pp. 491.

THÉ qualifications requisite to a translator of the book of Job, are of no ordinary standard. How far they belong to Mr. Good, must be determined by a diligent and candid review of his performance. Various literary productions have made this gentleman known to the public: and even they who are least partial to him as a writer, must admit that in industry he surpasses most of his contemporaries.

In the present number we shall examine his introductory Dissertation. To his eulogium on this noble poem---to his general estimate of its character and importance---we feel little hesitation in subscribing. And we shall now accompany him in his inquiry into "the scene" of the book, "its scope, object and arrangement; its language, and the difficulties attending a translation of it; its author and æra; and the doctrines which it incidentally develops."

I. "Nothing," says Mr. Good, "is clearer than that all the persons introduced into the ensuing Poem were Idumæans, dwelling in Idumæa, or, in other words, Edomite Arabs." Bocchart, Spanheim, and the writers of the *Universal History*, place the land of Uz in *Sandy Arabia*, which Rosenmüller, whose *Prolegomena, &c. in Jobum* have now reached this country, considers as likely to be its position.* Indeed, on looking into Jer. xxv. 20, 21, we find that *Uz* and *Edom* are spoken of as distinct from each other. Of the spot upon which Job dwelt, Blayney† remarks, "It

was most probably on the confines of Idumæa, if not a part of it;" and in this opinion we are disposed to acquiesce. We do not differ greatly from Mr. G's., which is well supported by the authority and reasoning of Bishop Lowth.* But we submit, whether the Dissertator has not expressed himself with somewhat too much of confidence? He justly commends the "modesty" of Eusebius: and in the event of his printing a second edition of his Translation, he will perhaps at once imitate and praise this learned ecclesiastical historian, and enable us to verify the quotation made (ix.) from his works; of the substantial correctness of which, however, we do not doubt, though it has the appearance of being inaccurately printed. The manners of the Poem are, beyond controversy, *Arabian*; a fact of far more importance than our answer to the question, In what district are Job and his friends described as living? Not that even this investigation is without its use; nor that we judge it unworthy of the notice of studious men. Still, we think it the least momentous of the matters which occupy our Translator's preliminary discourse, and not among the *clearest*.

II. He states the subject proposed by the writer of the Poem to be "the trial and triumph of the integrity of Job." Such, no doubt, is the general argument of the book. Its scope, nevertheless---the object of its author ---seems to have been higher; to vindicate the ways of God to man, by shewing that severity of affliction is no proof of the sufferer's guilt. The individual case of Job is subservient to this moral. Whether he really existed, has been a topic of dispute among scholars and divines. But we believe that historical truth is the basis of this work. The nature of the references in Scripture to its principal character,† afford a strong presumption that he is not the offspring of the poet's

* Prolegom. 26.

† In his note on Jer. xxv. 20.

* Praelectiones, &c. xxxii. not. sub. init.
† Ezek. xiv. 14, 20. James v. 11.

fancy. As to the structure of the poem, we are of opinion that it is, for the most part, fabulous. The introduction, the concluding chapters, the precision and the care with which the leading speakers are brought before us, three several times, in rotation, have a very artificial appearance. Surely, Mr. Good contends for too much when he attempts to evince that in these circumstances there is nothing inconsistent with a narrative of facts. Will not sound criticism be satisfied with the admission that *facts* are the ground-work of the book? Rosenmüller's arguments to this effect,* are at once concise and forcible.

Mr. Good assumes a doctrine to which we cannot accede respecting the *Satan* of the book of Job; and, for the better support of his theory, offers a construction of Chap. i. 8. ii. 3. upon which we shall animadvert in the proper place. He considers this poem as "a regular Hebrew Epic," and adds, "were it necessary to enter so minutely into the question, it might easily be proved to possess all the more prominent features of an epic, as collected and laid down by Aristotle himself." This criticism, formerly maintained by a foreign author, has found an opponent in Eichhorn†, and is incapable of being supported. The book consists almost entirely of *dialogue*. There is so little action throughout that we cannot with reason style the poetry either *epic* or *dramatic*. And, though the composition is eminently sublime, beautiful and pathetic, yet, as Rosenmüller justly remarks, its merits are vindicated, and not lessened, by our forbearing to give it a technical classification: "Quod autem huic poemati et legitimi dramatis et epicis carminis titulum abjudicamus, nihil de ejus pretio derogatum imus, quod si potius facere censendi sunt, qui ad alienam normam id inique exigere volunt, unde necesse est vitiosum et inancum videri, quod sane in suo genere est pulcherrimum et perfectissimum."‡

The present translator offers a valuable analysis of this composition, which he divides into six parts, in-

cluding the opening or exordium. These are as follow: 1.) Ch. i.—iii. 2.) iii.—xv. 3.) xv.—xxii. 4.) xxii.—xxxii. 5.) xxxii.—xxxviii. 6.) xxxviii. Hereafter, we shall point out a few mistakes (such we conceive them to be), both of sentiment and language, in this part of the Dissertation.

III. We have the pleasure of agreeing with Mr. Good in his general statement of the difficulties attending a translation of the book of Job, and of the necessity of a knowledge of *Arabic* to the translator. If in modern times the sense of the poem has been more fully developed than heretofore, we owe the benefit chiefly to the nicer care with which the study of the Oriental tongues and dialects has been pursued. Sacred criticism has received great assistance from the cultivation of this branch of learning; though, in the volumes of a few and even celebrated authors, it has often degenerated into puerile refinements.

Even the mere English reader of the poem before us, must be aware of the arduousness of making a vernacular translation of it; as he cannot fail to perceive that our public version of *Job*, though executed by men of ability and erudition, is frequently obscure. Perhaps no book in the Old Testament has so much engaged the attention of critics and theologians widely varying from each other in their degrees of knowledge, taste and judgment. Yet most of them have thrown light upon this fine vestige of ancient genius; while room is still left for the efforts of future commentators and translators.

IV. It is no easy task to ascertain the author and the æra of the book of Job. That it was composed before the delivery of the Jewish law, cannot, we imagine, be reasonably questioned. We are unable to discover in this poem any traces of persons and transactions subsequent to the period we have just mentioned: and, indeed, it remains to be seen whether allusions are here made even to much earlier incidents recorded in the sacred history? By whom the book was written, can be a matter only of conjecture. They who assign it to Moses, advance an opinion far more plausible than any other which has been hazarded on the subject: yet the examples adduced by Mr. G. as

* Prolegom. 3.—8.

† Einleitung in das A. T. B. iii. 555, &c. (Ed. 3.)

‡ Proleg. 22.

"exhibiting a very singular proof of parallelism," seem insufficient for his purpose. Had we in this case independent evidence of what our translator denominates, somewhat quaintly, "an unity of authorship," these specimens of a likeness between parts of the acknowledged writings of the Hebrew Lawgiver and detached portions of the Poem under our consideration, would not be devoid of weight. In the absence of external testimony, Mr. G. must excuse us if we say that he decides rather more peremptorily than the state of the argument will justify. Rosenmüller ascribes the work to some writer who flourished long afterwards---"Vel ipsa Salomonis ætate, vel proximis, quæ illam inse-
cuta sint, temporibus;"* but he does not venture even to guess who the author was. The hypothesis of Warburton, we presume, is almost exploded; though we learn from the *Leipziger Literatur-Zeitung*, of August 16th. 1818, that Professor Bernstein, of Berlin, honours it with his countenance. It is a memorable instance of one theory being formed to prop, if possible, another. Thus a weak and ill-planned structure requires to be sustained by buttresses, which frequently add little to the strength of the building, while they are sure to heighten its deformity.

V. "The chief doctrines of the patriarchal religion, as collected from different parts of the poem," Mr. Good thus enumerates:

"1. The creation of the world by one supreme and eternal Intelligence.

"2. Its regulation, by his perpetual and superintending providence.

"3. The intentions of his providence carried into effect by the ministration of a heavenly hierarchy.

"4. The heavenly hierarchy, composed of various ranks and orders, possessing different names, dignities and offices.

"5. An apostacy, or defection, in some rank or order of these powers; of which Satan seems to have been one, and perhaps chief.

"6. The good and evil powers or principles, equally formed by the Creator, and hence equally denominated 'Sons of God'; both of them employed by him in the administra-

tion of his providence; and both amenable to him at stated courts, held for the purpose of receiving an account of their respective missions.

"7. A day of future resurrection, judgment, and retribution, to all mankind.

"8. The propitiation of the Creator, in the case of human transgressions, by sacrifices, and the mediation and intercession of a righteous person."

Having finished this enumeration, the translator says, "Several of these doctrines are more clearly developed than others: yet I think there are sufficient grounds for deducing the whole of them." The practice of *deduction*, alas! is much too frequent among reputed theologians, and has mainly contributed to the support of unscriptural and antichristian tenets.

As to "the creation of the world by one supreme and eternal Intelligence, and its regulation by his perpetual and superintending providence," these truths are more than *developed* in the book of Job---more than *deducible* from this ancient Poem: for it teaches them in plain and unambiguous language. We will advert, at the foot of the page, to some passages which are the vouchers of our assertion.* Can as much be maintained concerning the remainder of the opinions stated by Mr. Good? Are not his Dissertation and his notes a proof that these have long been controverted, so far as regards the poem before us?

For the *deduction* that the designs of divine providence are "carried into effect by the ministration of a heavenly hierarchy," he refers to Ch. i. 6, 7. iv. 18, 19. v. 1. xxxiii. 22, 23.

Now in the first of these texts mention is made indeed of *the sons of God*: yet respecting their nature and abode the writer has been profoundly silent; and from his silence, it were, surely, unbecoming to *deduce* a proposition so comprehensive and important. The title *sons of God* is bestowed, in the New Testament, upon Christians;† so that it does not necessarily designate beings superior to the human race. In the 18th verse of Chap. iv.

* Ch. xxxviii.---xlvi. Ch. i. 9, 21.
ii. 10. v. 8---27. ix. 4---13.

† 1 John iii. 1.

the word *angels* is equivalent with *messengers*. It receives illustration from the term *servants* in the preceding clause; and, though these are, in the 19th verse, contrasted with *mankind*, the poet, however, does not declare that *all* or *most* of the intentions of Providence are executed "by the ministration of a heavenly hierarchy." A *hierarchy* implies a gradation of rank, of which (whether it exist or not) we read nothing in these verses. The propriety of the appeal to ch. v. 1, must be determined by a few observations, to be made hereafter on the rendering of it. Our public translation has *saints*, for which Mr. G. substitutes *heavenly hosts*. The case of ch. xxxiii. 22, 23, is the same.

Thus it appears that of this gentleman's four references the two first do not reach the extent of his *deduction*; while the others admit, and may even be found to require, a translation differing from his own.

It is not from Arabian writers, from "the Mahomedans in general," from Christian and still less from Pagan poets, that such tenets should be taken by believers in revelation. We confine ourselves to the question, whether the existence of a *heavenly hierarchy* be taught by Moses and the prophets, by Jesus and the apostles? It is the province of scriptural criticism to ascertain the ordinary import of a word at the time of its being employed by the sacred writers; instead of giving it a sense derived from comparatively modern hypotheses, and, as the effect of a false association of ideas, imagined to be ancient. Assuming the truth of some popular speculations in theology, it will not be difficult for us to conceive of a process of the mind by means of which *traces* of them shall seem to occur in scripture. But the inquiry still remains, whether they are so propounded there that "he who runs may read" them? What believer in the authority of the New Testament ever spoke of the doctrines of the pardon of sin upon repentance, the resurrection of the dead, and the future judgment of the world by Jesus Christ as being simply *developed* in its books, being *deducible*, truly! from its contents?

These observations are applicable not only to the notion of a *heavenly hierarchy*, but to that of "an apostacy"

among the celestial orders; which tenet, according to Mr. G., "is derived from two or three passages that may, perhaps, admit of a different explanation." Whether *Satan* be introduced, in Ch. i. and ii. as an *evil* and *apostate* spirit, is at least questionable. Upon this subject the translator communicates to us more information than the author of the poem. The *Satan* of the book of Job, is not the *Satan* of the Chaldees,* but is represented as a judicial officer in the court of God. After the seventh verse of the second chapter this being entirely disappears, Mr. Good indeed says, that the opponents of the patriarch "were excited" by "the archdæmon;" on what evidence he builds his assertion, we have yet to learn. If the writer's silence is to be thus supplied by "the coinage" of our Dissertator's "brain," any fancy whatever may be deduced from scripture. Had the poet conceived of Satan as Mr. G. does, he would have employed language more nearly resembling Mr. G.'s. When, in the natural order of our review, we proceed to the remainder of this gentleman's volume, we shall with strict impartiality inquire, whether his version of ch. iv. 18. xv. 15, betray or not any fondness for "systematizing?" The truth or the falsehood of this doctrine of a *defection* among the celestial orders, is not now the matter of our investigation. Our sole purpose is to warn our readers against imagining that it is *clearly developed* in this poem.

In favour of "the doctrine of an universal resurrection and retribution" Mr. Good adduces ch. xiv. 10—15. xix. 28—29. xxi. 28, 30. xxxi. 13, 14. Of these texts the first is, in our eyes, declaratory of the contrary tenet: nor can the Dissertator enlist it into his service without previously employing the word *renovation* instead of *change*. This passage and the rest of the supposed authorities we will discuss when we advance to his version and his notes. For the present, we only ask, whether the hypothesis of a future life's being even *developed* in the book of Job, be not at variance with the scope of the poem, and with its interesting moral? It is curious to notice the mixture of

* Einleitung in das A. T. von J. G. Eichhorn, 3rd Bd. (3. Ac.) 592, 595.

decision and of doubt with which Mr. Good expresses himself in this part of his Dissertation—e. g. “it seems clear—it seems evident—it proves obviously”!

He quotes ch. xv. 18—22. xvi. 22. xvii. 1. xvii. 11. xxx. 24, 25, as the principal passages “against the existence of a future life.” But then he adds, immediately, “all these passages rather refer to an insensibility or dissipation of the soul upon death, than to the question of a re-existence at some future period: and hence they cannot strictly be said to annihilate this latter doctrine.” Now, after reading again and again the above-mentioned texts, we can discern in them no traces whatever of the distinction which Mr. G. finds it so convenient to suggest. The holy sufferer speaks of the hope of man as destroyed: and though he wishes to retain it, yet he knows that thus much is beyond his power,

“Yea, my hopes!—who shall point them out?

To the grasp of the grave must they fall a prey.”

We are next referred to ch. i. 5. xlii. 8, 9, as texts in which are developed “the propitiation of the Creator, in the case of human transgressions, by sacrifices, and the mediation and intercession of a righteous person.” These passages we have, accordingly, examined with great attention: and in the former we meet with a record of the *fact* that Job’s parental affection and habitual piety induced him to offer sacrifices every day for his children; while from the other we learn that, *at God’s command*, he presented intercessory prayers for his three friends, who, however, were specially directed to bring with their own hands a prescribed sacrifice. In these instances there was nothing of *propitiation* and *mediation*, in the sense in which the words are commonly understood. We may as well *conjecture* that sacrifices were symbolical of Divine mercy as that they were either *propitiatory* or vicarious.

On reading Mr. Good’s introductory Dissertation, we have frequently wished that the provinces of the translator of the scriptures and of the doctrinal expositor of them, were considered as distinct; the correctness and fidelity of a version of these

writings being unavoidably affected in some degree by the preconceived idea of their containing passages from which certain doctrines may be learned in the way of *inference* and *deduction*.

We shall weigh the intrinsic merits of the translation before us with its pretensions. Mr. Good assures his readers that he has not been “a niggard in labour;” and we believe him. We admire his industry and ardour, his attachment to scriptural criticism and oriental learning. His views of the manner in which the book of Job should be rendered from the original, are enlightened and correct; and, if he has not uniformly succeeded in exemplifying them, it must be remembered that he could command only a few hours in every week (actively engaged as he is in the duties of his profession) for the execution of his task. Upon our candour and forbearance he possesses a yet stronger claim; inasmuch as he never treats preceding or his contemporary labourers in the field of sacred literature with arrogance and illiberality. If we think him sometimes unduly confident in his positions, and sometimes inaccurate in his reasonings, we have, nevertheless, the pleasure of observing that he uniformly avoids offensive and personal strictures upon those who dissent from his conclusions.

The style of his Dissertation might be improved. But we content ourselves with pointing out one mark of haste. In page xxiii, Mr. G. speaks of the *goad* as *passing* into the soul of Job, yet not *poisoning* it. The metaphor is incongruous. We would attempt to give it *consistency*, were not our translator an enemy to the *conjectural* *PERHAPS* in matters of *verbal* criticism!

Some of the Hebrew words which he takes occasion to cite in his introductory Discourse, are wrongly printed. Are these errors attributable to the distance of *Broxbourn** from the metropolis? Reviewers and their readers will be somewhat deficient in experience and in charity, if they cannot allow for typographical mistakes flowing from this source.

* This work issues from the *Broxbourn* press, in Hertfordshire.

ART. II. Discourses on Universal Restitution, delivered to the Society of Protestant Dissenters in Lewin's Mead, Bristol. By John Prior Estlin, LL. D. 8vo. pp. 211. Longman and Co. 1819.

Whilst the subject and the arguments of this work were under discussion in our last volume, we thought it scarcely decorous to bring the Discourses under our own review: they are too important however to be passed over, though after the investigation which they have undergone, we may content ourselves with a cursory notice.

The Discourses are the familiar addresses of an aged pastor to his flock, on a topic of supreme importance, to which his attention and zeal have been lately directed; hence they discover a confidence and urgency of manner which viewed in any other light would be scarcely pleasing, but to the same circumstance must be attributed the simplicity, pathos and eloquence with which so many passages in them abound. Dr. Estlin was brought over to the doctrine of Universal Restitution by his friend the late much-lamented and reverend Rochemont Barbauld*, whose almost unceasing remonstrances forced him to re-consider the subject and to contemplate it in all its bearings and connexions. (p. 71.) His zeal, indeed, points him out as a new convert: but, at the same time, the hypothesis which he asserts is so beautiful and cheering, reflects so much glory on the universal Father and sheds such beams of comfort and joy upon the condition of the children of men, that it seems impossible that any one should hold it with indifference.

'Passion is reason, transport temper here.' There may be enthusiasm, but it is surely an amiable, nay more, a noble enthusiasm in the preacher's estimate of his favourite doctrine (p. 203).

"It appears to me be a part of the plan of divine providence, the whole of which is founded in infinite wisdom, that the doctrine of final salvation should at this period of the Christian Church be revived, as particularly adapted to the cure of those moral disorders which prevail in the world."

Universal happiness must be allowed to be the best proof of infinite love, and what sentiment is so powerful in the excitement of practical benevolence as the persuasion that the author of all things is the Father and the Friend of his reasonable creatures? Were this conviction generally and deeply felt, there would be little bigotry, persecution or war.

It is a consolatory fact that the doctrine at least of eternal torments has been losing ground since the Reformation. The Reformers inherited it from the Church of Rome, and might assert it with the more vehemence and apply it the more largely in order to shew their opposition to purgatory, a state of remedial pain: but Dr. Estlin suggests (p. 50. note) that the most convincing evidence we have of even Calvin's habitual belief of it is his burning Servetus! The tremendous doctrine is certainly not contained in the Articles of the Church of England: it was asserted in the Forty-two Articles, settled in the reign of Edward the Sixth, but was happily rejected when the number of Articles was reduced to Thirty-nine (p. 16, 17). In the Athanasian Creed it may indeed be implied, but it would be unjust to determine the faith of the National Church from a formulary, of which all its enlightened and liberal members have long been ashamed. The most zealous advocates of the doctrine are to be found amongst the Methodists; but the zeal of most of them has of late cooled upon this point, and not a few of them embrace the opinion of final happiness to all. On what other supposition, can they maintain the ultimate triumphs of divine grace, the efficacy of the cross of Christ, and the fulfilment of the prophecy, that in the Messiah shall 'all the families of the earth be blessed'!

Dr. Estlin wonders and grieves that the advocates of destruction or annihilation (the words differ, but the thing is the same,) should have been chiefly Unitarians: but surely this doctrine is infinitely preferable to that of eternal pains and penalties. We remember the time when our escape from the scheme of the Assembly's Catechism to this moderate system, filled us with inexpressible joy: we had landed upon solid ground, after being long vexed upon a sea

* For an account of Mr. Barbauld from a pen capable of doing justice to the subject, see M. Reps. Vol. iii. pp. 706—709.

of doubt and disquietude, and it was some time before we felt any anxiety to explore the goodly land which we had reached, and to gather all the pleasant and exhilarating fruits which we now know by experience that it yields. He that, educated amidst the rigours of Calvinism, embraces the destruction scheme, has obtained a shelter; the storm is over; the Supreme Power no longer does evil: but still, it may be urged, is this enough? Is any doctrine worthy of God that does not represent him as effecting all possible good to his own offspring? If he does not will good to all, where is his goodness? If he wills, and cannot effect, where is his wisdom or power? It is no reply to this argument that there is evil in the present world: should it be granted that there is real unmixed evil, this would indeed be a presumption in favour of the eternity of evil; but is it for the honour of the highest, the only Good, to allow that under his reign, evil will be eternal? This however is not granted; for it is contended that all the evil of life is temporary and also remedial, and that the future and final happiness of intelligent beings will be increased by this arrangement of the Divine Providence. We have an illustration of this supposition in sleep, which is a defect, but which promotes greatly the comfort of all animals; and also, in corporeal pain, which in the wise and benevolent scheme of things is compensated by pleasure, and without which, perhaps, pleasure were not.

It may be granted that the letter of scripture is favourable to the doctrine of destruction, as it is to that of transubstantiation: a second death, however, does not any more than a first preclude a revival, and as Dr. Estlin justly insinuates (p. 141) a *first resurrection* implies a *second*. Mr. Locke has long ago proved that the human mind has no proper idea of eternity, and can have none; divine revelation, therefore, cannot possibly teach any doctrine with regard to eternity; the utmost that it undertakes to reveal is concerning ages of ages, beyond which, in fact, eternity lies: and therefore it might be admitted that the wicked will be punished (but punishment may consist in the mere privation of a certain kind or degree of good) to the utmost length that men's faculties can reach, and et be reasonably and successfully

contended that the end of all God's creatures will be happy. In the Jewish idiom, ages of ages are only definite periods; of these the longest may be the Messiah's reign; but when he has accomplished his work by the destruction of all enemies to man, and especially death (now death can be destroyed only by those that have fallen captive to death being set free by life), it is the doctrine of the apostle that he will resign the kingdom to God, who will be all and in all,

" And where he vital breathes, there must [be joy.]"

Even the decided advocates of destruction must, one should think, wish to be able to renounce their system; they must certainly wish this, if they desire the happiness of all mankind. But to desire this end is the characteristic of a good man; and is it not the attribute of the infinitely good God, whose all men are, and whose perfection consists in his being, not speculatively but practically, their father, and whose perfections, wisdom and power, as well as benevolence, are all infinitely equal?

According to present appearances and also to scriptural representations, the majority of mankind must suffer punishment in the world to come (p. 83); let that punishment be final and endless, and what a prospect is here for the philanthropist! Without a resurrection, the destruction scheme would be plausible enough: but the testimony of scripture is decisive as to the revivification of the wicked; why then on this hypothesis are they to be dragged forth from their slumbers?—only to be tormented—that their torments may end them. And this is the amount of the divine promise, sealed by martyrdoms and miracles, that "as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive!"

In proportion to the improvement of human society, capital punishments have been exploded, and the avowed ends of penal justice have been the security of society and the reformation of offenders (p. 115, &c.). This is the natural march of benevolence. Where there is more, where there is all wisdom and power,—in the other world—will there be less benevolence and less happiness? And will our Howards and Romillys go into the future state, incapacitated by their goodness in the present, for admiring the measures of the divine government?

OBITUARY.

Mr. Thomas Mullett.

THE following is the conclusion of the Funeral Address delivered at the interment of Mr. Thomas Mullett, by the Rev. John Evans, in Bunhill Fields, Wednesday, Nov. 23, 1814. The Address has been printed merely for circulation among the relatives and friends of the deceased.

This doctrine of the *Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead*, forms a most consolatory topic under the deprivation of relatives and friends. The transition, therefore, is natural and easy to the enumeration of a few particulars relative to our much respected *deceased brother*, whose removal has brought us together on this mournful occasion.

MR. THOMAS MULLETT was born at Taunton in the year 1745---an era memorable in the annals of British history, for an ineffectual attempt to restore arbitrary power and spiritual tyranny throughout these kingdoms. His parents belonged to the community of *Friends*, among whom he was brought up, but on his marriage he relinquished his connexion with that Society. Agreeably to the education which he had received, he soon entered the *commercial world*. Humanly speaking---he was the arbiter of his own fortune. Providence, indeed, smiled upon his continued and persevering efforts, so that, at length, he attained to an honourable independency. He visited the United States of America three times, and formed connexions in that distant part of the globe upon a large scale and of high respectability. There, as well as in this country, he was esteemed by a numerous circle of friends---who knew his worth, and will hold in honour his memory.

In the political world also he, at one period, took a distinguished part---for he had not adopted the absurd opinion, that when men become Christians they are to relinquish all concern for the rights and privileges of the civil community. At Bristol, where he began his career, and where he resided for many years, he took the lead in what included the welfare of that ancient and populous city. There it was, that through *good and evil report*, he opposed that unfortunate war which severed the American colonies from the parent stock, and in every stage of its progress he lifted up his voice against its impolicy and wickedness. It was deplored by every friend to humanity.*

* Among the many anecdotes with which the deceased amused and interested his friends, there is one, respecting *Caesar*,

It is a circumstance worthy of mention, that he was the last of the twelve persons who were engaged in inviting the celebrated *Edmund Burke* to be the representative of the city of Bristol, than whom no one, both without and within the walls of the senate, reprobated more eloquently the deleterious consequences with which that contest was attended. Few understood better than did the *Deceased* the rights of the subject---none advocated with more manly firmness the principles of **CIVIL** and of **RELIGIOUS LIBERTY**, which he knew included in all their ramifications, the prosperity of mankind.

His intellectual powers were of a superior cast---and he had an intimate knowledge of mankind. There was a clearness in his perceptions, and a calmness in his deliberations, favourable to accuracy of judgment. He was aware of the perturbed emotions by which the human breast is swayed, and he guarded against those inveterate prejudices by which obliquity of judgment is generated. His information on most subjects was correct, and he exercised the utmost caution in making up his mind. His sentiments, once formed, were seldom altered, and his measures, determined upon, were invariably carried into execution. Indeed, his leading characteristics were firmness of opinion and consistency of conduct. Having taken a comprehensive view of what was offered to his consideration---his mind was not harassed by any puerile vacillations---but, con-

WASHINGTON, that he told me, which ought not to be lost. When Mr. Mullett first visited the United States of America it was at the close of the war, when he was introduced to General Washington. With this *great and good man* he passed some time at his seat, Mount Vernon. Beside other flattering marks of attention, General Washington, when alone with him in his library, asked him if he had seen any individual in that country who was competent to the task of writing a history of that unhappy contest? Mr. Mullett, with his usual presence of mind, replied---"I know of *one* and *one only*, competent to the task."---The General eagerly asked---"Who can that individual be?" Mr. Mullett remarked---"CÆSAR wrote his own Commentaries!" The General bowed and replied---"Cæsar could write his Commentaries; but, Sir, I know the atrocities committed on both sides have been so great and many, that they cannot be faithfully recorded, and had better be buried in oblivion."

scious of the firmness of the ground on which he stood---he prosecuted his object till it was accomplished.

Hence it is that he was looked up to by a number of respectable characters, and not unfrequently occupied in matters of arbitration between his fellow-citizens in the commercial world. He had, for some time past, withdrawn himself from the bustle of political life, yet he has been more than once consulted on transatlantic affairs, especially by an enlightened member of the legislature of the present day. This patriot and philanthropist he visited, and used to pass a few days with him at his house in the country. No individual was more strenuous in his exertions to persuade the government, that the late obnoxious *Orders in Council* would be the cause of a war eventually, to be deplored by Britons. Ever the advocate of peace, he in these latter, as well as former hostilities, viewed alike the measures adopted towards America as destructive of public tranquillity. How far he was correct in predicting the evil consequences of the present contest, time alone can determine. But I am warranted in declaring, that had he survived its issue, he would have ardently hailed the return of the blessings of peace with a country, to which by origin, connexions and language, we are so closely allied. He rejoiced that the ravages of war had, in a measure, ceased---and he fondly hoped, that ere long, human beings would discern the folly and wickedness of an appeal to arms, instead of having recourse to a wise adjustment of the opposite and jarring interests of mankind.

With respect to his religion, having been educated in the principles of the *Friends*, he retained a partiality for their views, especially as they are detailed in the writings of Barclay and Penn---who held them in their purity. I have, more than once, not only heard him declare how incontestable were the great leading facts of the Christian religion, but also express his admiration of the unparalleled moral excellence, which beams forth with a pure and effulgent glory in the character of Jesus Christ. Often, however, did he lament, with other pious and liberal individuals of different denominations, that the *mild and pacific spirit of THE SAVIOUR* was not more conspicuous amongst the professors of Christianity.

The deceased married, Mary, the daughter of the Rev. and venerable *Hugh Evans*, and sister to the Rev. *Dr. Caleb Evans*, president of the Baptist Academy at Bristol. I scarcely need add, that his father-in-law had an unfeigned regard for him, and his brother-in-law was, to the day of his death most sincerely attached to him. He had a high opinion of his good sense, consulting him on every important occasion, and relying upon his judgment with no inconsi-

derable satisfaction. His excellent partner proved, in the best sense of the word, a *help-mate*---participating of his joys, and dividing his sorrows throughout his variegated career of life. Her piety---her benevolence, and her invariable kindness endeared her to all who knew her. She bore her husband *eleven children*---four of whom only, a *son* and *three daughters*, survive---on whose minds her truly maternal affection has left an indelible impression. Beloved and regretted, she died, 1800, in the 56th year of her age. The surviving progeny of both these estimable parents knew their worth, and rendered their lives comfortable and happy. They now revere and bless their memory.

Our deceased friend enjoyed, for a long series of years, a considerable portion of health and strength---which, indeed, carried him through the very many avocations in which he was engaged. Latterly, a complaint in the head seized him, which was relieved by the advice of the faculty, though by no means altogether removed. But within these last twelvemonths, the energies of nature declined, and the powers of life were seen hastening to a termination. Excursions to the sea-side, which had generally been found efficacious, yielded him no effectual relief. He returned home from Hastings, as well as from a previous visit to his favourite Isle of Wight, with alarming symptoms of the dropsey. These indications of extreme debility increased, and medical aid (the best that human judgment could suggest) became as it will, alns! soon become to us all---unavailable. His severe and accumulated sufferings he bore with the fortitude of a man, and with the resignation of the Christian. He expired, at length, without a struggle or a groan, in the *sixty-ninth year* of his age.

Our excellent friend, indeed, never feared the approach of death. Latterly, he conversed freely and even cheerfully, about his approaching dissolution. He possessed a calmness and a firmness, when speaking of his expected decease, that whilst it gratified those around him, emboldened them to converse with him concerning it. Such a conduct imparted consolation to this relatives and friends---his character, indeed, through life and in death is thus endeared to them by a thousand different recollections. Even deliberate orders for his funeral were given by him, and amongst other requests he expressed a particular wish, that I should pay this last sad tribute of respect to his memory. It is not quite two years ago since I was called to the painful task of interring my highly respected relative, and his beloved son-in-law, *Mr. Joseph Jefferies Evans*, in this cemetery. And little did I then imagine, that I should be so soon called to engage on a similar me-

Death of Joanna Southcott.

lacholy occasion. The members of this once large and numerous family have, within these few years by death been greatly reduced in numbers—but when the links of a chain are lost and disappear—the circle is lessened, and the remaining few ought to be drawn the closer together in ties of affection and sympathy. We are born to die, and we die to live FOR EVER. Under the present gracious dispensation of our Lord Jesus Christ, who by his RESURRECTION hath brought life and immortality to light—the good man is empowered to exclaim, amidst the ever-shifting scenes of life, and under the severest paroxysms of dissolution—It is well for TIME, and it shall be well for ETERNITY!

Death of Joanna Southcott.

1814, Dec. 27th.—Precisely at 4 o'clock in the morning, died the pretended prophetess JOANNA SOUTHCOTT. In one of the early numbers of our last volume we recorded a prediction of this extraordinary woman, that towards the end of the year she should usher Shiloh into the world, whom she had miraculously conceived in her 66th year. Strange and fanatical as this prediction was, it met with more believers than could have been expected, in what is termed this enlightened age. We have now to register the circumstances of an event, which has blasted the hopes of those who were anxiously waiting for its fulfilment. During the last ten weeks of her life, Joanna was confined to her bed by sickness and was able to take little or no solid sustenance; soon after her confinement she was prevailed upon to call in the assistance of a Mr. Want, an experienced surgeon, who appears to have been the first who raised serious doubts in her mind concerning the reality of her pregnancy, by stating it as his decided opinion that there was no foundation for its belief, and that her disease must eventually terminate in death. He afterwards explained more fully the grounds of his opinion in a letter to her constant attendant and secretary, Ann Underwood, at the same time recommending such medicines as might alleviate the violence of her disorder though they could not effect a cure. The answer, which by the direction of Joanna he received, shews what a great degree of infatuation still possessed her; she expressed a “determination not to take medicine unless especially directed so to do by the Lord.” Mr. Want, anxious to discharge his professional duty, proposed that she should undergo an examination, that the precise nature and state of her disease might be ascertained; but to this prudent proposal neither she nor her friends would accede; her refusal was accompanied by a declaration, that “if she was not pregnant with a human being, she was satisfied there was some living creature within her.”

This confidence, if real, soon abated, and the positive opinion of the surgeon gradually opened her eyes to her real situation, and she seemed to be sensible that death was drawing near. On the 7th of November she pretended to have received from the Holy Spirit the following communication; “Before the end is over every one's faith will fail them, for her sufferings will be so great, that she will appear as one dead;” it was also said, “Let no one be alarmed if thou appear as dead before them for a while, I shall raise thee up again.” If Joanna really believed that this communication was made, it may serve to shew the great anxiety and distress of mind she experienced.

In order to relieve this anxiety and support her drooping spirits, some of her followers, whose faith was greater than her own, produced one of her prophecies published so long ago as 1792, in which it was said, that the mother of Shiloh previous to his birth would be as dead for four days; but would then revive and be delivered! Such was their fanaticism, that although they expected her death, yet they persuaded themselves it would be temporary and they confidently looked for her revival at the predicted time!

Joanna seems to have calmed herself in some measure by this persuasion, but her calm was of short duration, and as she found death approaching her agitation of mind rapidly increased. On the 19th of November she sent for Dr. Reece, a medical attendant in whom she most confided, and a scene ensued which shews how great were her mental conflicts. “Finding herself (she said) gradually dying, she could not but consider her inspiration and prophecies as a delusion.” She further said, addressing herself to her surrounding friends, “When you have heard me speak of my prophecies, you have sometimes heard me say that I doubted my inspiration; but at the same time you would never let me despair. When I have been alone, it has often appeared delusive; but when the communications were made to me I did not doubt them.”

“Feeling as I now do, that my dissolution is drawing near, and that a day or two may terminate my life, it all appears delusion.” One of her disciples said to her, “Mother, your feelings are human. We know that you are a favoured woman of God, and that you will produce the promised child, and whatever you may say to the contrary will not diminish our faith.” This assurance gave her comfort. The scene concluded with Joanna's giving directions to the Doctor “to open her body in case she should die, and ascertain the cause of her feelings for the last nine months.” After some further instructions respecting her delivery if that should take place, she directed her friends, that “in

case she should appear as dead for three or four days, no force should be used to extricate the child, but to leave her according to the directions given by the Spirit, to be kept as warm as possible till there is a visible change taken place either in life, or that actual death has taken place to the full satisfaction of her friends."

In this state of mind, wavering between hope and despair, she appears to have lingered till the day of her death. For a few hours before this awful event she was insensible though with some lucid intervals. During these she appeared conscious of her approaching dissolution, which her disciples regarded as a prelude to that birth which they so eagerly and so blindly expected. She now dictated a *Will*, in which she expressed her conviction that she had been visited by some good or evil spirit. Hoping that she should soon revive, which she was satisfied would be the case if she had been visited by the Lord, she desired she might be preserved with every tender care for *four days* after dissolution, the fourth being that on which, under Providence, she expected she should be restored to life and delivered. If that period expired without any symptoms of re-animation, she directed that her body might be submitted to skilful operators. Soon after she had thus made known her pleasure she expired.

No painful feelings were excited by this event in the minds of Joanna's proselytes. One of them said that "her soul would return, having only gone to heaven to legitimate the child which would be born." They proceeded to wrap the corpse in warm blankets, to apply bottles of hot water to the feet, and to keep the room warm in which she lay, hoping by these means to prepare the body for the return of the spirit, which they considered as merely "gone for a while." The news of peace with America arrived on the day of her death, a circumstance which inspired her followers with fresh confidence. "If you do not see that God is about to do a great work, you must be blind indeed," exclaimed one of them. Two days after her death, although putrefaction had evidently begun to take place, still their confidence was unabated. Of the revival of Joanna they had no doubts, and all their anxiety was, that the world might be convinced she was really dead. Nine medical gentlemen were called in to have ocular demonstration of this fact, and a declaration was published in the daily Papers, from which we extract the following remarkable passage. "Her friends know her to be dead, but the arm of the Lord is not shortened, and if he is about to do a great work upon the earth, as they firmly believe he is, they know that he can as easily raise the dead to life, as awake a person out of a trance. Mrs. Southcott's words always have been, 'that death

or life would end the strife'; and on that ground her believers rest the question." This infatuation continued the third and even the fourth day, and the medical gentlemen who were appointed to open the body, were not permitted to touch it till the expiration of the last minute of the appointed time: crowds assembled before the door, and the inquiries respecting her re-animation were made with the most anxious hope, and the most eager expectation. The expiration of four days and nights brought not with it the destruction of these hopes, and when her followers were forced to relinquish all expectation that the life of the mother would be restored, they still expected the birth of the promised child. "Their disappointment (says Dr. Reece) on the opening of the body, may be better conceived than described. It was strongly depicted in every countenance. They had all pictured to themselves many happy days, the enjoyment of heaven on earth. This unexpected change, so suddenly coming upon them, was too much to bear. None however condemned her as an impostor. One declared that he would ever revere her memory, and once a month visit the spot where she was laid with pious and reverential awe!"

On Monday, Jan. 1st, her remains were interred with the greatest privacy. The corpse was accompanied by three or four friends in disguise; and the few spectators whom curiosity attracted around the grave, had not the slightest suspicion that the coffin before them contained the body of Joanna Southcott.

Thus ended a delusion which has at once surprised and disgraced our age and country. In going over the particulars above stated, we have doubted whether Joanna herself was not in some measure one of its dupes. Two of her physicians have published accounts of her illness and death, and they both agree that "she was more *infatuating* than *infatuated*." But for the honour of human nature, we hope that to persist in imposture when in the prospect of approaching death, and even to die with it falling from the lips, is a height of wickedness impossible to be attained. On this question opinions will vary, and we must leave her in the hands of the merciful Judge of all the earth, who in the day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, will do right. Whether Joanna was deluded or not, it is plain from the published accounts that she was exceedingly ignorant; and it is surprising that without any attractions of body or mind, she should have made such an impression on the religious world. Surprising as this appears, it may be accounted for, and we do not blame but pity the credulity of her followers. The blame must attach to the popular system of religion

which has long laboured to destroy the natural connexion between reason and faith, and has hence led to the idea, that the more wonderful a doctrine is, the more worthy it is of belief. If the Ministers of the gospel would teach their hearers to expect evidence before they gave assent,

in vain would pretended prophets and prophetesses attempt to deceive mankind. Let the name of Joanna Southcott be remembered by the religious world, and let it be a lasting warning that Reason, Understanding, Evidence and Faith, ought ever to go hand in hand.

INTELLIGENCE.

Christian Tract Society.

THE sixth anniversary of this Society was holden on Wednesday the 16th of November last, at the old London Tavern Bishopsgate Steet. At the meeting for business Willian Frend Esq. was called to the chair. The Report of the Committee was read by the Secretary. It commenced by stating the continued prosperity of the Society during the last year; though owing to some circumstances which were explained, neither the number of New tracts published, nor the total number circulated during that interval, had been so great as in the former year. Only one New tract had been printed and two of the former tracts reprinted, making altogether 9000 copies. The Committee stated however, that they had left two Manuscript Tracts to be published by their successors, and intimated that it was likely a new volume would be completed against the annual distribution of the Tracts to the subscribers. It appeared that up to this time the Society had printed in all about 200,000 Tracts, of which about 140,000, have already been circulated. The Society's property was stated as follows:

Estimated value of the stock in hand	£. s. d.
.....	245 0 0
Due to the Society from the publishers, &c.	140 0 0
	385 0 0
Due from the Society for printing, &c.	31 2 6
Balance due to the Treasurer	27 9 6
Amount of the Society's present property	£326 8 0

The Committee having stated their opinion that considerable inconvenience had been experienced from the Anniversary of the Society being held in November, it was resolved, that in future the annual meetings shall be held on the first Thursday in the month of February, and that the next Anniversary be postponed to the first Thursday in February, 1816.

Thanks were voted to the several officers of the Society, for their services during the last year.

The following gentlemen were elected into office for the year ensuing.

JAMES ESDAILE Esq. Treasurer.

REV. THOMAS REES Secretary.

COMMITTEE. REV. R. ASPLAND, MR. FOSTER,
MR. SILVER, MR. SPYRING, MR. PARKER, MR.
HART, MR. GIBSON, MR. TITFORD, MR. ROBERTS,
MR. PARKES, MR. HALL.

AUDITORS. MR. E. L. MACKMURDO, MR.
W. FREND, MR. JOHN TAYLOR.

The subscribers and other friends to the Society afterwards dined together to the number of Eighty. John Christie Esq. in the Chair. The evening was spent in a manner highly to the satisfaction of all present. Among the gentlemen who addressed the meeting were the Treasurer, (James Esdaille Esq.) Mr. Alderman Wood, Mr. Alderman Goodbehere, Mr. Frend, Mr. Rutt and Mr. Gibson. We rejoice to be able to add that a considerable addition was made to the list of subscribers.

Manchester, Dec. 31, 1814.

THE Quarterly Meeting of Ministers, generally denominated Presbyterian, in Manchester and its vicinity, was held on Dec. 28. 1814. Twenty-one ministers present. The Rev. Mr. Parker performed the devotional services, and the Rev. D. Jones preached from Eccles. vii. 10. Two new members were added to the association. The next meeting will be at Rochdale on Good Friday. Mr. Parker will be the preacher, and Mr. Whitelegg his supporter. The dinner, at which forty-two Gentlemen were present, was at the Bridgewater Arms. Among other topics of less importance, the circumstances of our Unitarian brethren at Oldham were pressed upon the attention of the meeting, and about fifty pounds was immediately subscribed for the purpose of erecting an Unitarian Chapel in Oldham. It may not be improper here, perhaps, to inform our Unitarian brethren in general, that contributions for the above purpose are to be transmitted to the Rev. Wm. Harrison, Manchester. In the course of the afternoon, the Treasurer of the Manchester New College, York, (to whom our great obligation can never be forgotten) gave information respecting that valuable Institution highly interesting to the meeting. Our Dissenting brethren throughout the United Kingdom cannot be too much impressed with the value and advantages of such an Institution, and they doubtless will never suffer it to languish for want of

adequate support and countenance; on the contrary, they will exert themselves to improve its present flourishing state. It is an Institution eminently well calculated for the education of the gentleman and the divine. The business of the Lancashire and Cheshire Book and Tract Society

was transacted the following morning. The state of its finances is flourishing, and there is a prospect of its proving very useful in promoting its object—The knowledge of christian truth and the practice of virtue.

W. J.

MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS; OR, *The Christian's Survey of the Political World.*

When Greece had obtained that superiority over her neighbours, which has been so much celebrated in the literary world, all the nations around her were held in sovereign contempt. It was forgotten in what abject state this country lay a few centuries before; and it was not anticipated that the descendants of these giants in literature, science and polities, would become the most abject and despicable slaves, unmindful of the fame of their ancestors, and incapable of manly exertion. This is no uncommon error, each nation in its turn embraces a similar feeling of contempt for those who are less distinguished, or less favoured by circumstances, calculated to improve our species. In our days it has been gravely discussed, whether the Blacks are not of an inferior race to ourselves; and it has been argued, that nature designed them to be slaves to the Whites; that is, that the God of Nature had distinguished the sons of Adam into two classes, and that one part of the family should inherently possess the right of maltreating the other part at its pleasure. Where, it was contended, are to be found any proofs of manly intellect under a black skin? Their minds are low and grovelling, and their bodies to be inured to labour only under the lash of the task-master? How could it be otherwise, when all the avenues to knowledge were shut up to them; all the rewards of individual exertion were denied to them? The experience of the last ten years is worth more than folios of controversy. We have seen the Blacks in a different situation. They have broken their chains. They have asserted their rights. They have indeed committed murders and massacres; but in these acts of cruelty and barbarity, they have only followed at a humble distance the example of their White and more civilized brethren. The splendour of a court, the gorgeous parade of the prince; the magnificent address, the pride of rank, the diss play of shews, distinguish the mansions of white royalty: how easily this is to be done, and how fit the sable sovereigns are to vie with their brethren, has been seen in the court of the sovereign of Hayti. There remains another kind of comparison, and in this the sable court does not appear

to be at all inferior to any of those which are now displaying their talents at the Congress of Vienna. Hayti is expecting an attack from France. In these cases it is usual for courts to issue a manifesto, explaining the justice of their cause; and the last month has exhibited to Europe a specimen of political views, as they are entertained by our brethren, whose skin is differently coloured from our own. These are the men, who a few years back, groaned under the lash. They are now sensible of the benefits of freedom, and with their liberty they have acquired just notions of their rights. Amidst the numerous proclamations that have issued from the White courts, not one is superior to the manifesto of the Emperor of Hayti; and, if we may judge of the probability of excellence in other branches of knowledge, from this specimen of diplomatic talent, we may anticipate researches in science, and productions of literature from our hitherto degraded brethren, that shall vie with the finest of those who have hitherto vainly conceived, that they were entitled to as manifest superiority over the Africans as the Greeks claimed over the Barbarians. Who knows, indeed, whether England herself may not sink to a state as base as that of Greece, when in future black universities the tables may be turned, and the White become the degraded colour.

This reflection may be of use in the present times, when writers are so fond of feeding the pride and vanity of this nation, by displays of the greatness of its dominion, the strength of its navy, the number of its towns, the splendour of its wealth, the superiority of its skill in arts and manufactures. A volume has been lately published, in which all these things are brought under the nicest rules of calculation, and in reading the details of our greatness, we cannot but reflect on the message of the prophet to Hezekiah, after he had entertained the ambassadors from Babylon. The true question on the situation of states is the use they have made of the advantages they have enjoyed; and here we shall, perhaps, find more cause for humility than pride. Great Britain, by the reformation, was placed in a more favourable situation than the Catholic coun-

tries. She has in a much greater degree enjoyed the liberty of the press and personal independence. Has she availed herself in a suitable manner of these advantages? Has she improved her laws, corrected erroneous notions of religion, attained to the true standard of morality, which such advantages, for upwards of two centuries, ought to have produced? Is there less of murder, forgery, debauchery, immorality of every kind than in other States less favoured: and if less, in what degree? We have possessed, it is certain, greater advantages than other nations, but have we turned these advantages to the best account?

The Congress at Vienna continues its labours, and we are told, with indefatigable industry. There is bustle enough with Emperors, Kings, Embassadors and Princes; and the newspapers of different countries continue to amuse the public with surmises on the projected changes in the state of Europe. We cannot find fault with the obscurity that hangs over the deliberations of the Congress. The subjects under discussion are doubtless of the highest importance, and we are content to wait in patience for the final result, which is to shew us what improvement has been made in political wisdom, and whether the Princes of the Earth have been taught, by past experience, to entertain proper notions of justice and the true method of governing nations, not by arbitrary caprice, but by religion and equity. In the mean time, we cannot but observe, that one principle alone seems to guide the political writers: namely, that mankind were made for sovereigns--not sovereigns for mankind. Hence their thoughts are turned only to paper schemes; to plans, which may be formed easily by a set of men with maps before them, and scissors to cut out portions as suits their fancy. The good of the people is the last thing that enters the mind of these sagacious politicians. They sit down with the notion, that the congregated Sovereigns are little better than a set of banditti met together to divide their plunders, where each man is ready to quarrel with his neighbour on the size of his portion, and the whole are kept together only on sordid views of self-interest, without the least regard to honour, morality or religion. But let us hope better things of the Sovereigns themselves; and if we are disappointed, at least let us repose confidently in the great truth, that there is a God, who judgeth the earth, and will make every measure conducive to an end far different from that of the worldly politician.

France is gradually recovering from its distresses, and is much indebted to the Sovereign for the improvement in its situation. The great question relative to the emigrants is set at rest, by which the pre-

sent possessors are secured in the possession of their property, and means are taking to indemnify the emigrants for the losses they have sustained. The rumours of conspiracy have subsided, and the king is received, when he goes to public places, with increasing marks of attachment. Difficulties will of course arise, where he has such claims of gratitude for attachment from one party, while at the same time, the state of things requires that a great degree of confidence should be placed in those who have had the management of affairs during his absence. In all this he seems to have been guided by a spirit of wisdom and prudence; and among his virtues he possesses one which cannot be too strongly recommended to a prince, and by which a state is soon recovered--economy.

Spain, on the other hand, exhibits a most disgraceful picture. Arrests continue to take place every day. The Inquisition and the prisons are filled. Past services are forgotten. All are indiscriminately seized. The affrighted Spaniard looks on, and no man knows, whether the next night will find him in his bed or a dungeon. In this state of confusion an armament is prepared, of ten thousand men, to bring back the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres to their allegiance. We are too little acquainted with the state of South America to anticipate the result of this contest; but as the arms of Britain were so disgracefully foiled when the South Americans were less prepared, we cannot doubt that they are capable of resisting this force, or any other that the mother country can bring against them. Perhaps they may detach no small number of the troops sent against them by similar grants of territory to that which the United States has offered to all who deserted the standard of the invader.

After much anxiety on the subject of America, the pleasing news was suddenly announced, that the Commissioners at Ghent had come to an agreement. Articles of peace were entered into, were soon signed by the Regent here, and sent forward to America for the ratification of the President. We have only to wish that it will be lasting, and that both parties will be impressed with the folly of settling their differences by the destruction of their fellow-creatures. The United States have enough to do in conquering the vast extent of waste land that lies behind them, and the noblest trophies they can rear are those which arise from converting a desert into a fruitful field, instead of that miserable and wretched triumph which arises from the destruction of human life, laying waste the lands of the industrious, and destroying the mansions of civilised life. Whilst they are engaged in these real triumphs, Great Britain will be no less usefully employed in

supplying them with her manufactures; and thus both countries will be acting the true part, which seems to be allotted to them by providence. Different sentiments have been expressed by some of our politicians, who, notwithstanding the vigour shewn by France after the ruin of her finances, conceived that America was from the same cause incapable of prolonged resistance. But what could war do but injure both countries, which by peace are capable of rendering each other incalculable good services. We trust that the return of peace will give to the lovers of peace many advantages in their future arguments with the advocates for war.

The employment of the faculties of man in making the elements subservient to his use and for public convenience, is in agreement with the magna charta granted to him at his creation. When he abuses these powers in the destruction of his fellow-creatures, whatever glory may be thrown over military exploits, he only proves what a degraded being he is, and how unworthy of the high character with which he was invested by the God of nature. Steam is now applied to passage-boats and to the draft of waggons, but little was it thought that it would become serviceable to literature. With great satisfaction we record it, and we esteem the author of the invention higher than all the generals of the age, that a printing press has been put in action by steam, which entirely supersedes the labour of the press-men, and brings the whole of their work within the compass of children. A steam-engine of two-horse power, puts in motion certain cylinders and the form on which the types are placed, so that the whole work of distributing the ink and pressing the paper, is performed by machinery. Man has nothing else to do but to put the paper on the cylinder, and to take it off again when it is printed. The benefits of this discovery are incalculable, and relieve the mind, depressed by the scenes of bloodshed and slaughter, which it will be the business of the historian to record of this wicked age.

Happy should we be, if England afforded continually these proofs of glorious conquest, but the last month exhibits an instance which is a sad proof of depravation of manners. A wretched man conceived a criminal attachment for the sister of his departed wife, and this sister was the wife of a nobleman of high rank, and a mother. In spite of such obstacles he seduced her, to whom he ought to have been a protector; carried her from a noble mansion, and the miserable female was a short time after taken half dead from the Seine, into which remorse had driven her. Large damages have been obtained by the husband, and a divorce will take place at the next meeting of Parliament. Could

the sons and daughters of dissipation see into what misery they plunge themselves, would they thus madly violate the laws of man and of God! We feel unfeigned grief in recording that this example has been set where we should have hoped for better things, for the depraved seducer is the grandson of the amiable author of *Search's Light of Human Nature*. "Let him who thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

The property tax and the price of corn have excited a great deal of the public attention, and meetings have been held on these subjects; and on the former very generally. The tax itself is assuredly liable to great objections, and the mode of raising it, to many more; and it may deserve remark, that in the account of Poor Richard's aphorisms on economy, he enters upon them, by comparing the folly of people's taxing themselves by their own extravagance, with the cruelty of a government, if it could be supposed to exist, that should exact a tenth of every man's industry. The tax made no difference between a man whose five hundred a-year was derived without exertion, and was permanent, and that which was precarious, and arose from labour. It is true, that the best mode of taxing a people is to do it according to the means which each man possesses of paying the tax, or in other words, that all men should pay in proportion to the advantages which they derive from the community for whose support the taxes are raised; and to regulate taxation in this manner is not so difficult as is generally imagined. But then society must be on a different plan from its present state, and a principle of honour must exist, which would, instead of each man's endeavouring to throw the burthen from his own shoulder on that of his neighbours, urge him not only to bear his own but to endeavour to alleviate that of those around him. The contrary principle is, however, the prevailing one, and marches forward with unblushing face in most companies, where the idle laugh to scorn the industrious. In such a state, however, the aggravations of the property tax will be felt, and the inquisitorial scheme has a natural tendency to break down the spirit of a people. This has been very generally felt, and is plainly expressed in the petitions to Parliament; so that most probably the tax will expire at the appointed time, and the funding system affords sufficient means of compensating for its loss.

The diminution in the price of corn has excited an alarm among the farmers and landholders far beyond what such an advantage to the community at large could be expected to produce among the most self-interested. It is said, that the farmer cannot exist, if the corn continues at the present price; or in other words that the landlord must diminish his rents. But is

here a reason why the landlord should not diminish his rents, and is not the interest of the consumer to be considered as well as that of the grower? The question was tried in a part of Wiltshire in an extraordinary manner, when a meeting was held to petition the legislature on the subject, and the landholders who called it, very injudiciously introduced into their petition the interest of the tradesman, the manufacturer and the labourer, which very early in the debate appeared to be untenable ground, and the interests of the growers was only retained. But even with this emendation the landholders' point was not carried, for one, who seemed to have entered more deeply into the question than the others, put some close questions on the increase of

rents relatively to the price of labour, which proved clearly that more things were to be taken into consideration than the landholders imagined, and several of great property declaring themselves adverse to the petition, the meeting broke up to the entire confusion of those who had called it. In fact, the real interest of no one class in the community is to be sacrificed to the emolument of another. The growers of corn have possessed great advantages, but it does not follow that they are to remain for ever the same. They must expect in common with the others good and bad years, and it will be for the interest of the proprietors of land to let the whole community participate in the advantages to be expected from peace.

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA IN VOL. IX.

P. 771. col. ii. line 2, for "Petminster" read Pitminster.

776, Note. At the end, add---Geddes was afterwards so dissatisfied with the term *skip-offering* that he wished another to be substituted for it. *Memoirs of him by Good.* 344, 355 (*Note*).

778. col. i. line 20, from the top, after the word "modest" place a note of admiration.

780. col. ii. line 2, from the top, for "Zenophon" read Xenophon.

784. col. ii. line 16, from the bottom, for "preeision" read precision.

787. col. i. line 21, from the top, place the inverted commas before the words, *The Christian Hebrews, &c.*